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GONZALO PIZARRO AND FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA

INTRODUCTION

One of the most picturesque incidents in South American history was the journey made by Gonzalo Pizarro into the wilds of what is now eastern Ecuador, during which journey his second in command, Captain Francisco de Orellana, with a part of the expeditionary force, departed from the main body and went downstream, eventually reaching the Atlantic Ocean. It has usually been assumed by writers that Orellana's act was treasonable to his chief, although everyone has conceded the magnitude of the transcontinental journey which he made.

The purpose of this paper is to discover whether or not Orellana was a traitor to Gonzalo Pizarro. Elsewhere I have declared that he was so; now, through the kindness of Mr. William Charles Cooke, of Bishoptown, Ireland, it has become possible for me to examine the matter more carefully, using for that purpose a book by the late José Toribio Medina with which I was not acquainted until Mr. Cooke called it to my notice.¹ Señor Medina, in that volume, provides us with a wide variety of materials wherewith the whole question can be studied anew. It is a magnificent piece of work, and extremely

¹ Medina, *Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas* (Seville, 1894). This volume was published in English dress by the American Geographical Society (New York, 1934) under the title *The Discovery of the Amazon*. . . . It is well to explain here that hereafter page-references to the Spanish volume, if in roman figures, concern the very rich introductory matter supplied by Medina; and, if in arabic figures, to the part of the volume which contains the *Relación* of Friar

important to students. In it, Señor Medina makes an eloquent defense of Orellana's reputation and honor, a defense which I regretfully find to be unconvincing.

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The chief document presented by Medina is the "Relación del Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas" of the Dominican, Friar Gaspar de Carvajal, whose importance for us lies in the fact that he accompanied Orellana every step of the way from the point where Gonzalo Pizarro was left to the Island of Cubagua off the northern coast of South America between La Guayra and Trinidad.² Other documents presented by Medina will be mentioned further on.

In addition to the materials given us by Medina we have: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes who, after seeing and talking with Orellana and others of the expedition at Santo Domingo, twice wrote about the matter;³ Francisco López de Gómara, in his *Historia general de las Indias*, Ch. cxliii, where he says nothing of much note; Antonio de Herrera, in Dec. VI, Bk. IX, and Dec. VII, Bk. IX, Chs. viii-ix, where he speaks favorably of Pizarro; Agustín de Zárate who, writing Gaspar de Carvajal and the other documents presented. It should further be stated that Mr. Cooke's letter to me, dated at Bishopstown, Ireland, June 26, 1933, was occasioned by remarks about Orellana on p. 81 of Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire* (New York, 1932).

² The "Relación" is printed in Medina, 1894, pp. 1-83. Another version of it will be found in Fernández de Oviedo, 1851-1855, IV, 541-574. An incomplete manuscript copy of Carvajal formerly belonged to the historian, Muñoz, and is now in the Academy of History, Madrid. The "Relación" was written not long after the events which it relates, probably in Lima to which city the Friar returned from Cubagua without accompanying Orellana either to Santo Domingo or to Spain. (Medina, 1894, pp. xx-xxi).

³ The first time was in a letter to Cardinal Bembo of which an abstract appears in volume III, p. 345 of the 1605 edition of *Delle navigatione et viaggi* of Ramusio. According to a note at p. 27 of Medina, 1934, the letter to Bembo was dated January 20, 1543, two months after Orellana's arrival at Santo Domingo. The second time was in *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Bk. XLIX, Chs. i-iv, and vi, being in vol. IV, pp. 381-390, and 392-394 of the 1851-1855 edition already cited. See also Medina, 1934, pp. 390-404.

within twelve years of the events, speaks very severely of Orellana in Bk. IV, Chs. i-v, of his *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*; the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, in Pt. II, Bk. III, of the *Comentarios Reales*, where he strongly takes Gonzalo Pizarro's part in the affair; Pedro de Cieza de León, in Pt. IV, Bk. II, Chs. xviii-xxii and lxxx, of his *Crónica del Perú*, where he sides with Gonzalo Pizarro; Pedro Pizarro in his *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru*, where he stoutly defends his cousin, Gonzalo; Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, related to both protagonists, in his *Varones Ilustres del Neuvo Mundo*, in which he emphatically sides with Gonzalo Pizarro; Father Juan Meléndez who, in Bk. IV, Ch. vi, of his *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias*, defends Pizarro; and Father Manuel Rodríguez, S. J., in Bk. I, Ch. ii, of *El Marañón y Amazonas*, where he bases his remarks on López de Gómara, Zárate, and Garcilaso and so speaks severely against Orellana.⁴ Modern writers on the subject include Prescott, Markham, González Suárez, Jiménez de la Espada, and V. T. Harlow, all of whom very strongly favor Gonzalo Pizarro's side of the matter.⁵

THE EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO AND FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA IN ITS EARLY PHASE

Gonzalo Pizarro, bastard half brother of the Marquis Francisco Pizarro,⁶ was appointed by the latter to be governor of Quito with the special obligation to explore the wilds of what is now the eastern part of Ecuador. Associated with him as

⁴ López de Gómara, 1554; Herrera y Tordesillas, 1601-1615, and 1859; Zárate, 1555; Garcilaso, 1859; Cieza de León, 1918, pp. 54-77 and 289-292; Pedro Pizarro, 1921, pp. 414-415; Pizarro y Orellana, 1639, pp. 345-398, and especially pp. 351-352; Meléndez, 1681-1682, I. 369-376; Rodríguez, 1684, pp. 4-12.

⁵ Prescott, 1847, Bk. IV, Ch. iv; Markham, 1859; González Suárez, 1890-1903, II. 280-297; Jiménez de la Espada, 1892-1894; and Harlow, in his magnificent Introduction to Raleigh, 1928, pp. liii-lvi.

⁶ Cúneo-Vidal, 1925, Ch. iii, shows that Gonzalo Pizarro was a natural son of Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, called "the Roman", by María de Viedma, Francisca González having been the mother of Francisco Pizarro, also illegitimate.

his *teniente de gobernador* was Francisco de Orellana, a kinsman of his and, like the Pizarros, a native of Extremadura. The two men were of the same age, more or less, both having been born about 1511.⁷

It is no part of my present task to trace out the events of the expedition. Gonzalo Pizarro left Quito with his army in late February, 1541. It was a well-equipped body of about 220 Spaniards, provided with nearly as many horses, with hunting-dogs, llamas, hogs on the hoof, some 4,000 Indian auxiliaries, and a great supply of arquebuses, crossbows, and provender of all kinds, including tools and other materials. Francisco de Orellana, having attended to some official affairs at Guayaquil, reached Quito after Gonzalo Pizarro's departure and, with twenty-three followers, caught up with him at or near a place called Sumaco or Zumaque, some thirty leagues eastwardly from Quito, late in March, 1541.⁸

At the beginning, the march into the wilderness seems to have been conducted with good military order, there being a vanguard, the main body, and a rearguard; when Orellana arrived, he was made second in command. The country of the Quijos, into which the expedition first plunged, was difficult enough, although the Indians there had been to some extent disciplined by the Incas;⁹ but it was not long before they found themselves floundering in a region difficult to penetrate and devoid of all attractions such as precious metals, cinnamon, and civilized natives. Still, they went onward during more than ten weeks and, at length, arrived in the land of

⁷ Medina, 1894, p. li, where he cites Fernández de Oviedo, 1851-1855, IV. 384. See also: Cieza de León, 1918, p. 58; and Cúneo-Vidal, 1925, pp. 43-46.

⁸ Medina, 1894, pp. lx-lxx; Carvajal, in Medina, pp. 3-5; Cieza de León, 1918, p. 56; Garcilaso, 1859, pp. 4-6; Toribio de Ortiguera, in Medina, p. 176.

⁹ Medina, 1894, pp. lxx-lxxvii; Cieza de León, 1918, pp. 57-58. On the people of the regions traversed see Cieza de León, Pt. I, Chs. xxxix and xli—1864, pp. 137 and 147; Montesinos, 1920, pp. 105-107; Cabello, Pt. III, Ch. xxix—Ms. in the New York Public Library, p. 714.

the Omaguas who, subsequently, became one of the most famous of all the Amazonian peoples.¹⁰

Quite aside from the fact that they later became entangled in the hopes revolving around the mythical realm of El Dorado, the Omaguas were highly important to the expeditionaries led by Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Orellana; for these riverine Indians, unbelievably skilful in the use of their numerous dug-out canoes, first showed the invaders the desirability of travel by water. By this time the Spaniards had had heavy losses in horses and other animals, in Indians, and in sundry kinds of supplies, and were in a pretty bad way generally. It was therefore decided to construct a *bergantín* (brigantine or lugger) to aid them in their onward progress and, in a last resort, to take them down the rivers to the Atlantic. This last possibility seems to have been definitely in Pizarro's own mind, and is very important.¹¹

Oddly enough, Orellana at first opposed the building of the brigantine, opining that it would be better to turn back and endeavor to reach Pasto or Popayán; but, when the plan had been agreed upon, he became very active—as was Pizarro and everyone else—in its construction. Thus, albeit with great toil and difficulty, a good but not very large boat was built, this being done at a place some seventy leagues from Quito on the left bank of the Coca River.¹²

Most of the baggage, supplies, and various sick men were placed on the brigantine, and all the rest, with what were left

¹⁰ Medina, 1894, pp. lxx-lxxiii; Fritz, 1922, pp. 47-48; Harlow, in Raleigh, 1928, pp. xlvii-xlix; Markham's notes on pp. 175-176 of Garcilaso, 1859; Tushman, 1930, pp. 47-66; Alexander, 1920, pp. 194-204.

¹¹ Medina, 1894, pp. lxxiii-lxxv. Gonzalo Pizarro, in a letter written to the King from Tomebamba (south of Quito) on September 3, 1542, refers to the boat, saying: "lo cual todo lo hice con intención, si no topásemos buena tierra donde poblar, de no parar hasta salir á la mar del Norte." See Medina, pp. 88-89; Medina, 1934, pp. 54 and 247.

¹² Medina, 1894, pp. lxxv-lxxvi; Ortiguera, in Medina, 1934, pp. 314-315, also Carvajal, pp. 5-6 and Ortiguera, pp. 179-180 of Medina; See also: Cieza de León, 1918, pp. 64-65 and Garcilaso, 1859, p. 10.

of the horses, went along the banks, the whole body coming together at night for safety's sake. Thus they journeyed for nearly fifty days, having fairly good luck in the matter of finding food, and passing through moderately well peopled country, albeit of very difficult going because of innumerable swamps and thick woods. After that, however, they came into a deserted region where they were like to starve, having eaten many of their dogs and horses and having to depend on such roots and fruits as they could find.¹³

THE DEPARTURE OF FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA—AND AFTER

Under these hideous circumstances Gonzalo Pizarro took desperate measures which seemed to him wise and good. He tells us, in his already cited letter to the king, from Tomebamba, September 3, 1542, that the Indian guides whom they had with them gave news of plentiful food at a point one day's journey up a river which flowed into the river where they were (the Coca); that, in view of all this, Orellana offered, if given the brigantine and sixty men and some canoes, to go in quest of the food and to return with it to the camp which, in the meantime, would be traveling slowly in the same direction so that the reunion would take place within ten or twelve days; that he, Pizarro, trusted in the good faith of his lieutenant Orellana, and gave him the brigantine, canoes, and sixty men, the understanding between them being that Orellana was to look for food and rejoin the camp at twelve days' time at most, and that, on no account whatever, was he to go below the junction of the two rivers.¹⁴

Orellana and his followers, using the brigantine and the

¹³ Medina, 1894, pp. lxxvi-lxxxi; Carvajal, p. 6; Ortiguera, p. 179; G. Pizarro, p. 89—in Medina.

¹⁴ All this is straightforwardly set forth in Gonzalo Pizarro's letter to the king from Tomebamba, September 3, 1542. See Medina, 1894, pp. lxxviii-lxxx and 89-90; also: Garcilaso, 1859, where, at pp. 11-12, fifty men were taken by Orellana, not sixty; Cieza de León, 1918, pp. 64-66, where he says that seventy men were taken. The real number taken by Orellana was fifty-seven Spaniards and two Negroes, according to Medina, 1894, pp. clvii-clxxvii.

canoes, set forth from the main camp and started down the Coca River on December 26, 1541, nearly a year after the departure of the expedition from Quito.¹⁵ We have seen Gonzalo's version of the instructions which he gave to Orellana and of the understanding between them. This matter is very differently stated, however, by Friar Gaspar de Carvajal. He tells us that Captain Orellana, perceiving the difficulty of the situation, went to the governor (Pizarro) and told him that he was determined to go downstream, leaving his few possessions in the camp, and to seek for food which, if found, he would bring back for the good of all; that, Orellana went on to say that, if he did not come back, Pizarro was to take no more account of him and that, in the meantime, Pizarro was to go back a little to a place where there was food and there wait for Orellana for three or four days or whatever time seemed best, and that, if he did not come back, Pizarro was to take no more account of him. Pizarro bade him to do what he deemed best and so Captain Orellana took with him fifty-seven men, the *barco* (a term which would seem to imply a smaller boat than a brigantine), and some canoes taken from the Indians, and so he went downstream, proposing to return if food were found.¹⁶

One thing that strikes us as very strange in this version is the manner in which Orellana appears to give orders to his superior. It is important to observe, also, that even here the understanding was that food should be sought and brought back to the camp if it were found. But there is also the implication that Orellana might not come back if food were not found, in which case Pizarro was to go his way and take no more account of Orellana.

¹⁵ Medina, 1894, pp. lxxxi-lxxxii. The date here given appears in the version of Carvajal's *Relación* already cited as being in Fernández de Oviedo, but with the manifest error of saying "1542" instead of 1541. No date is given for the departure in the version of Carvajal printed by Medina, but New Year's Day, 1542 is mentioned on page 9 as occurring not long after the separation. See note on pp. 58-59, of Medina, 1934, and *ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁶ Carvajal, in Medina, pp. 6-7; in Medina, 1934, p. 170.

Medina provides us with data which help us to see what took place after the separation. Orellana's party went downstream with the *barquete* (still smaller than a *barco*, supposedly) and something over fifty men, and the currents swept them onward 200 leagues. At that point Captain Orellana decided that the great currents made it impossible to return to Governor Pizarro and so, with great difficulty, a brigantine (a second one) was built although they had no shipwright, and in it they went down river and eventually reached the Island of Margarita.¹⁷

One of the witnesses to the Segovia questionnaire, Ginés Hernández, drew up another questionnaire at Zamora de los Alcaldes (near Tumbes, in northernmost Peru) on February 14, 1564. From that document we gather that Gonzalo Pizarro sent Orellana, Hernández, and others in the brigantine and canoes downstream to look for food. Thus they went 1,500 leagues (!!!!) downstream to the Mar del Norte, finding great kingdoms and populations; and they built a second brigantine on the way to save themselves from the Indians and from the fury of the river which was so great that they could not go upstream.¹⁸

Replies were made to this questionnaire by three men who had remained with Governor Pizarro. Their names were Diego Gómez, Alvaro de Sepúlveda, and Diego de Herrera. The first two stated that Orellana and his men went off in the Brigantine and canoes to look for food and that, when they did not come back, Pizarro and his followers, after wait-

¹⁷ This material is derived from a questionnaire drawn up at the town of Espíritu Santo on the Island of Margarita (near Cubagua) on October 24, 1542. The questionnaire was the work of Cristóbal de Segovia, one of the companions of Orellana, and it was answered by Captain Orellana, Cristóbal de Aguilar, Juan de Elena, Hernán González, Benito de Aguilar, Ginés Hernández, Cristóbal Enríquez, and Blas de Medina, all of whom had made the trip and all of whom replied under oath. See Medina, 1894, pp. 111-133, where the questionnaire and replies are printed; and 1934, pp. 266-282.

¹⁸ The Hernández questionnaire will be found in Medina, 1894, pp. 134-143, the important (for us) question being No. 11, on p. 138. See Medina, 1934, pp. 282-289.

ing some forty days, had to turn back to civilization which they reached only after months of terrible trials. Herrera mentions the brigantine and canoes, but he says nothing of Pizarro's forty days of waiting.¹⁹

We may now turn to data provided by an *Información de méritos y servicios* presented by a companion of Orellana, named Pedro Domínguez Miradero, to Licentiate Fernando de Santillán, president of the Audiencia of Quito, at Quito on September 26, 1564. He tells us that he accompanied Orellana and some fifty men in a *barco* and twenty-two canoes downstream during four months and so came to the Mar del Norte. He says naught about seeking food and avers that the object of the trip was discovery.²⁰ It should be noted that Domínguez was afterward a foe of Gonzalo Pizarro and took part in the battle of Xaquixaguana, on the royalist side, in 1548.²¹ It is natural enough, therefore, that he should say nothing favorable to Gonzalo Pizarro.

It is now well to pause and to summarize the chief points revealed in the evidence thus far submitted. From the angle of Gonzalo Pizarro we perceive the following facts:

1. That the first brigantine was built, under terrible difficulties, by the whole expedition under the active leadership of Pizarro and of Orellana; so that, in a moral sense, it belonged to the whole expedition.
2. That the primary purpose of the brigantine was to aid progress in general and that the secondary purpose was to afford a means of getting the entire expedition to the Atlantic Ocean in case of need—this being Gonzalo Pizarro's own idea in the first place.
3. That, for the good of the whole expedition, Pizarro let Orellana and his men take the brigantine and canoes in order to seek for food for all, the understanding being that they were not to be absent more than 12 days and that they were not to go below the junction of the two rivers of which they had heard.

¹⁹ These replies are in Medina, 1894, pp. 143-145. See Medina, 1934, pp. 289-291.

²⁰ Medina, 1894, pp. 147-152; 1934, pp. 291-298.

²¹ Medina, 1894, pp. clxii-clxiv and 153-154; 1934, pp. 113-114.

From the angle of Orellana we have the following points:

4. Friar Gaspar de Carvajal would have us believe that Orellana announced his intention of going downstream in quest of food, with the idea of returning to camp if he found it; but that Orellana told his superior, Pizarro, to wait for him only three or four days and to take no further account of him if he did not come back in that time or soon after. Orellana and his men then went off in the *barco* and canoes.

5. Segovia tells us that Pizarro sent off Orellana and his men in the *barquete* and canoes in quest of food and that, as they could not get back upstream on account of the currents, they built a second brigantine in which and in a third brigantine, constructed later, they went down to the Atlantic.

6. Ginés Hernández, a companion of Orellana, stated, in 1564, that he had accompanied Orellana in the brigantine in quest of food, and that as the currents prevented their getting back up stream, they built a second brigantine in which they went down to the Atlantic. Three men who had stayed with Pizarro asserted in support of this that Orellana had gone off in the brigantine and that Pizarro and his followers had waited a long time for them, eventually struggling back to Quito.

7. Pedro Domínguez Miradero, a companion of Orellana and later a foe of Gonzalo Pizarro, stated, in 1564, that Orellana and something over fifty men went down river in a *barco* and twenty-two canoes and could not go upstream because of the currents.

We are now in a position to examine a final set of testimonies, beginning with a more extended scrutiny of what Toribio de Ortiguera—already cited—has to say in his unpublished book, “Jornada del Río Marañón”. As it is addressed to Philip III. it must have been finished sometime after 1598, albeit it may have been begun much earlier. Ortiguera describes the first brigantine as being “watertight and sturdy, but not very large”, and he goes on to describe how Pizarro intended to use it as a general aid to progress. He then tells how Pizarro sent off Orellana and fifty-four men to seek for food. Next, he relates how Orellana and his men,

in the brigantine, journeyed downstream for nine days, covering 200 leagues. At that time they found comparatively civilized Indians who treated them well and gave them plenty to eat, this being at a place called Aparia. There they remained three months, waiting to see if Pizarro would join them. At the end of that time they made up their minds to go down the river to the ocean, although people who were there present (including Domínguez Miradero) told Ortiguera that they could easily have gone upstream in the brigantine. In the meanwhile, Pizarro and his men were having a terrible time and had to eat herbs stewed in horse-blood using their helmets to cook in, and finally getting back to Quito.²²

Let us now add a few more items to our collection of points. We may now note the following:

8. Orellana was sent by Pizarro to look for food, using the brigantine and some canoes, with orders to come back to the camp.

9. Orellana, instead of doing this, found at nine days' journey and 200 leagues down river, a well supplied Indian village whose inhabitants were friendly, and there he waited for three months for Pizarro—who could not possibly be expected to go in quest of him.

10. Although the question of returning to Pizarro was discussed, it was decided to go down to the ocean.

11. The return to Pizarro *could* have been made, according to both Ortiguera and Fernández de Oviedo who had both spoken to participants in the affair.

12. Pizarro and his men, after fruitless waiting, had to struggle back to Quito amid hideous hardships.

²² See Ortiguera, on pp. 178-181 and 186-187 of Medina, 1894. As Ortiguera wrote so long after the events his opinion as to the feasibility of returning to Pizarro's camp might be questionable were it not backed up emphatically by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo who, like Ortiguera, spoke to men (including Orellana himself) who had taken part in the journey, this being done by him at Santo Domingo in 1542. Medina, 1894, p. cxx, quotes a passage from Fernández de Oviedo (probably from his early letter to Cardinal Bembo, already cited) in which that author says: ". . . but others say that they could have gone back to where Gonzalo Pizarro was left if they had wished, and this I believe." See important note about Ortiguera in Medina, 1934, pp. 310-311, where his work is dated 1581.

We may now examine intelligently a series of evidences, provided by Medina, which show exactly what took place at Aparia, in January, 1542.

The series opens with a declaration by Orellana himself in which he states that he is replying to charges brought against him by Gonzalo Pizarro. Orellana's document is undated, but it bears a *providencia* by the Council of the Indies which says: "Que se junta esta petición con los testimonios y se vea. En Valladolid, á 7 de Junio de 1543 años."²³

Orellana accuses Pizarro of rigging testimony against him. This accusation might carry some weight were it not that Pizarro was most emphatically not in any dominant position *after* he came back to Quito. Vaca de Castro had replaced him and was ruling all Peru for the king. His fallen estate is made very clear by the two documents emanating from him at this time one of which is known still to be extant.²⁴

Orellana makes a number of very vulnerable excuses for himself which may be summed up thus:

A. The testimony which he (Orellana) brings, both from clergymen and laymen, could not have been influenced by him. (Reply: This is nonsense; he could well have influenced the testimony, and he probably did so.)

B. Gonzalo Pizarro gave him the ship and the men and that, if he had intended to escape, he would not have left his servants and negroes in the camp. (Reply: True, the troops and the ship *were*

²³ Orellana's document, and various others "drawn up during the voyage of Orellana" were presented to the Council of the Indies on 7 June, 1543. They appear in Medina, 1894, pp. 95-105; Medina, 1934, pp. 252-262.

²⁴ Gonzalo wrote to Vaca de Castro, probably in August, 1542, offering his services. Vaca's reply gently declining them, is in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California. It is dated at Huamanga, September 11, 1542. (See: Means, 1932, p. 103, note 13.) The extant Pizarro document is the letter to the king, already cited, from Tomebamba, September 3, 1542. It is printed in Medina, 1894, pp. 85-94, the original being in the Archivo de las Indias, at Seville. It should be noted that Fernández de Oviedo speaks of some letters sent to Spain by (or on behalf of) Gonzalo Pizarro, which letters are dated at Popayán, August 13, 1542. (See: Fernández de Oviedo, 1851-1855, IV. 385-386.)

given to him, but for a special purpose which he did not carry out; he may have abandoned his property on purpose.)

C. He, Orellana, had no motive for escaping through unknown and dangerous country. (Reply: Again nonsense. He had plenty of motive—the wish to do great things on his own account, among them getting down to the ocean, which had been Pizarro's idea to begin with.)

D. That they could not get back to Pizarro. (Reply: But they *could* have got back, as Fernández de Oviedo and Ortiguera indicate, and as Carvajal unconsciously reveals—see below.)

E. That the currents carried them downstream. (Reply: Fiddlesticks! They could at least have remained at the point where they first discovered that it would be difficult to go back and from there sent word back to Pizarro by the Indians.)

In short, Orellana's defense of himself amounts to nothing whatever. Before passing on to the documents drawn up during the voyage which were presented along with Orellana's statement, we must remember that Gonzalo Pizarro was left on December 26, 1541.

The first of these documents is an appointment of Francisco de Isásaga to be scrivener to Orellana's party. It is dated at Aparia, January 4, 1542.

The second document is also dated at Aparia on January 4, 1542, and is a formal act of possession signed by Teniente General Francisco de Orellana, by Friar Gaspar de Carvajal and other witnesses (including Cristóbal de Segovia) and by Isásaga as scrivener. In the name of the king and of Governor Pizarro, Aparia, Irimara, and other villages and chieftaincies are taken possession of.

The third document, dated at Aparia, January 4, 1542, and signed by all the Spaniards present, is a *requerimiento* to Orellana in which he is besought not to lead them back upstream, but to go with them downstream, and promising disobedience if he refuses. The next day, January 5, 1542, Orellana formally accepted this proposition, but on three conditions: First, that they go eventually to some Christian land

from which, as a base, they would seek for Governor Pizarro; Second, that they wait at Aparia for two or three months to see if the governor did not come to them; Third, that a new and larger brigantine be built so that, if the governor did not come, they could go downstream in it in his name.

Here one would like to ask three questions: Did not Orellana know perfectly well that the nearest "Christian land" downstream was Brazil? (Of course he knew it). Why had Orellana and his men any reason to suppose that Governor Pizarro *would* look for them? How did they fancy that he was going to do it, they having his boat with them?

These last two questions can best be answered by showing what Friar Gaspar de Carvajal says of events at this time.

First of all, let us remember that Friar Gaspar states that Orellana and fifty-seven men were to go off in the *barco* and canoes in quest of food and that, if they did not come back in three or four days, Pizarro was to take no more account of them. This knocks on the head the argument that Pizarro could be expected to look for them, and it also indicates, very strongly, that, *even thus early*, Orellana was plotting an escape.

Friar Gaspar relates next that on December 28, 1541, the *barco* ran on a snag and was like to sink, but that they beached it and put in a new plank. Then, for three days more, the currents swept them on at a rate of twenty to twenty-five leagues a day, going through wilderness. Thus, as early as December 31, 1541, they began to doubt if they could get back and to plan to save their own skins by going downstream. Friar Gaspar says: "... even if we had wished to go back upstream (the implication being that they did not so wish), we could not have done it because of the great currents, and to go by land was impossible." Why, then, did they think that Pizarro could go to them by land? Why did they not wait for him where they were on December 31, instead of going on?

Friar Gaspar dates their arrival at Aparia as January 8, 1542. He then describes the building of the second and larger brigantine. He then asserts that Orellana offered to give 1,000 castellanos if six men would volunteer to go back to Pizarro with letters and a report of what was going on, but that only three men volunteered so that the idea was given up. Then, instead of waiting two or three months, they started downstream on Candlemas Day, February 2, 1542.²⁵

Friar Gaspar de Carvajal makes it all too clear that Orellana built the second and larger brigantine on purpose to reach the sea in it, and that only the feeblest gesture toward taking account of Pizarro and his men was made. The astute reader will have observed that there is a discrepancy of three or four days between the dates given by Friar Gaspar and those of the documents which he himself, with others, signed at Aparia. Does this mean that the friar's memory is faulty? Or does it mean that the documents were fabricated afterward, and for purposes of deception?

A fourth document in this series was a second *requerimiento* dated March 1, 1542, and signed by all the Spaniards, being witnessed by Carvajal and Friar Gonzalo de Vera, and attested by the scrivener, Isásaga. This *requerimiento* is even more abjectly cowardly than the first, being more cynical as regards Pizarro. It also states that Orellana had resigned his post as lieutenant general but that he had been required by his men to resume his leadership of them.

This document, it must be admitted, puts Orellana in a somewhat better light than that in which he has stood hitherto. It seems to show that he was confronted with an *en masse* rebellion against his wish to go back to Pizarro. That favorable light would be brighter, however, were it not that, on January 5, 1542, at Aparia, Orellana had already bidden his followers to bring to him all property belonging to persons who had remained with Pizarro.²⁶ It is not said what he meant

²⁵ Carvajal, in Medina, 1894, pp. 6-17. ²⁶ Medina, 1894, pp. 101-102.

to do with that property, but it makes it seem that he was planning an escape and did not wish to add thievery to treachery.

Let us now recapitulate this last stretch of evidence by adding to our collection of points, as follows:

13. Orellana, before the Council of the Indies, at Valladolid, on June 7, 1543, finding himself accused by Gonzalo Pizarro of betrayal, made a fivefold defense of himself which is highly unconvincing.

14. Orellana, at Aparia, on January 4, 1542, appointed Isásaga to be scrivener in his Majesty's name so that formal acts could be drawn up by him. Unless Orellana were already planning mischief, it is most strange that a leader in terrible peril should indulge in such a lawyerish move as this.

15. Orellana, on January 4, and again on January 9, 1542, was active in taking formal possession for his Majesty of various villages and chieftaincies. This activity, carried on with some reference to Pizarro, does not indicate any great degree of worry and fear on Orellana's part; but it does suggest that he was seeking to curry favor with the king and with Pizarro on his own behalf.

16. Orellana, on January 4, 1542 (a busy day at Aparia), was required by his men, including Friar Gaspar de Carvajal, to desist from rejoining Pizarro upstream, the men promising disobedience if he insisted.

17. Orellana, when he accepted this requirement on January 5, 1542, made three stipulations, already noted. One meant nothing (that about the Christian land); the second (about waiting two or three months) was not kept; the third (about building the new ship) was carried out by going downstream in the third boat.

18. Friar Gaspar de Carvajal—supposed by Medina to be Orellana's chief exonerator—unconsciously makes it clear that, in all likelihood, Orellana was planning an escape even at the moment of his leaving Pizarro.

19. Friar Gaspar shows that, as early as December 31, 1541, the men were wanting to get away downstream because, even if they had wished to do so—which they did not—they could not go upstream.

20. Friar Gaspar shows that Orellana caused the new and larger brigantine to be built at Aparia, in January, 1542, for the express

purpose of getting down to the sea in it, and that he made only a feeble and fruitless attempt to communicate with Governor Pizarro, which attempt was followed, on February 2, 1542, by the treasonable escape.

21. From the second *requerimiento*—that of March 1, 1542—it appears that the entire expedition of Orellana insisted on being led downstream in the new brigantine. They insisted on this course in the face of Orellana's own wish to try to rejoin Pizarro, which wish was probably unreal. Moreover, they insisted, in view of his having resigned his post, that he resume it and continue to lead them. Which, obviously enough, was exactly what he wanted them to do.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Now, in the holy name of historical justice, let us try to ascertain just what measure of blame can be fairly imputed to Captain Francisco de Orellana.

The late Don José Toribio Medina, who was one of the very greatest historical investigators ever produced in the Americas, devoted a section of his book to the eloquent defense of Orellana.²⁷ To some of his arguments we have replied, by implication, above. It is well to note here, however, that he dates the arrival at Aparia, January 3, 1542. Referring to the Aparia documents of January 4 and 5, he asks whether Orellana was acting in good faith, or whether he was performing an unworthy farce. His chief argument in favor of Orellana's good faith is that it was customary among the Spaniards of the sixteenth century in America to carry scribes about with them before whom all sorts of legal acts could be drawn up on all occasions.²⁸

With all due respect for the memory of a very great historian, it may be suggested that he overlooks here certain important facts: If Governor Pizarro had deemed it right that Orellana and his contingent should have a scribe with them, he would have seen to the matter himself. Not having a scribe with him, Orellana confected one for himself,

²⁷ Medina, 1894, pp. lxxxi-xxxix.

²⁸ Medina, 1894, pp. cxii-cxiii.

namely, Isásaga. That bit of strategy, and the documents which came of it, look to me like unmitigated rascality on Orellana's part, his purpose being to arm himself with papers which would be useful to him when he should be at last face to face—as he well knew that he would be, sooner or later—with powerful persons profoundly suspicious of his motives and acts. The scrivener-making is all the more a subject for suspicion because the improvised scrivener's job included the drawing of acts of possession, which had nothing whatever to do with the task which Orellana was supposed to be carrying out.

Medina takes up the testimony of Fernández de Oviedo and of Ortiguera—both of whom talked with members of Orellana's party—to the effect that a return to Governor Pizarro could have been made. He casts it aside on the ground that Ortiguera's informers did not support it. But here we should note an important fact: In his early letter to Cardinal Bembo, already cited, Fernández de Oviedo sides emphatically with Pizarro, being much less strongly in his favor in his book, which was written later. As for Ortiguera's informers, it should be remembered that they were all implicated in Orellana's doings. Moreover, by the time that they signed various documents, already mentioned, in the 1560s, Gonzalo Pizarro had long since died a traitor's death for his rebellion against the crown in 1544-1548. As the purpose of the documents mentioned was to extract benefits from the crown for three former followers of Orellana, why should anything be allowed to appear in them that might outrage authority by seeming to put poor Pizarro in a favorable light?

On the other hand, it seems to me altogether likely that, in his conversations with these men, Ortiguera had from them exactly the testimony which he reports. In talking with an historical investigator such as he was they could have no motive for telling anything but the truth; besides, not all of them said that a return could have been made. Therefore,

taking Fernández de Oviedo's earlier attitude in the matter and conjoining it with what Otiguera says, we may safely believe that some of the men thought that a return could have been made.

One more point which Señor Medina advances in favor of the general nobility of Orellana's character must now be refuted. He asserts that neither the Council of the Indies nor Hernando Pizarro, then a prisoner in Spain, had a word to say in defense of Gonzalo Pizarro or in reproach to Orellana. Medina who, after all, was human, has not well interpreted the evidence. The council was in a fair way to win the huge territories of Nueva Andalucia through Orellana's acts past and future; Gonzalo Pizarro was, two years after his escape from the woods, in full rebellion against the crown. Why, then, should the council take account of *him*? As for Hernando Pizarro's silence, it is explained alike by his own disgrace and by his knowing nothing whatever about the matter. Pedro Pizarro, on the other hand, as we have seen, knew about the affair and took his cousin's part very decidedly.

In view of the twenty-one points which have been deduced from the evidence, it is my studied belief, in spite of my sorrow at having to differ with the rightly revered Medina, that Orellana plotted to abandon Governor Pizarro at the time of leaving him, or at least very soon after, and that he sought to strengthen his morally weak position by fabricating documents at Aparia and afterward by getting his men to choose him as leader after he had gone through the motions of resigning. This opinion is borne out by Orellana's whole career afterward, when in Spain, at which time he was preparing to conquer the vast realm of Nueva Andalucia for the crown and without reference to poor Gonzalo. He was punished by a painful death in 1546 while seeking to enter the realm which, so dishonorably, he had found.²⁹ The late Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada—no less great an historian than Medina

²⁹ Medina, 1894, pp. ccxx-ccxxi; 1934, pp. 93, note, and 352.

—held a low opinion of Orellana, and in this opinion I must concur in view of the facts here shown forth.³⁰ At the very best he was a soft, weak-willed man of whom Friar Pablo de Torres, the king's confidential man in the expedition to Nueva Andalucia, wrote, in November, 1544: "The Adelantado [Orellana] is so good that he believes everything anyone tells him and acts on it, and he is so sweet that at times he is of little use."³¹

As for Friar Gaspar de Carvajal, it may be said that, although in general he was a good priest and a merciful man, he was the sort of person who goes all to pieces in the deep woods, and he was probably in a state of complete moral and nervous breakdown after leaving Pizarro's camp. Otherwise, one cannot explain him. No doubt they were all in a similar state of mind and soul, and no great wonder. But Orellana, as leader, ought not to have been so soft and so selfish. Traitor he has often been called, and traitor he was.³²

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

³⁰ Jiménez de la Espada's opinion is quoted by Medina on pp. cxxvii-cxxx.

³¹ Note at p. cxxiv of Medina, 1894.

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NOTE: This work was brought out at the expense of the Duke of T'Serclaes de Tilly, owner of the manuscript which Medina used as a text for his edition of Carvajal. The edition was of only 200 copies, of which I have used No. 171, belonging to the Harvard College Library. Once more I wish to thank Mr. Cooke, of Bishopstown, Ireland, for making me acquainted with this valuable collection of source materials.

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EARLY EMPIRE BUILDING PROJECTS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1565-1585¹

Columbus's passionate reiteration, "The earth is but small", can be recognized today as the rationalization of his compelling wish that the lands of his discovery should prove identical with those "lands beyond Ganges" of mediaeval heart's desire—Chrysis and Argire, Ophir and Tarshish, Cipangu and the Paradise Terrestre. And even when, years later, the reality of the American continental barrier was established, the idea of a narrow Pacific closely girt about by lands, dominated men's minds. Hence the projects of expansion formulated in the sixteenth century can only be understood if we forget the world map of today and accept at their face value the maps of four centuries ago. To Englishmen of the generation of Cabot and Columbus, save for the handful who had seen with their own eyes, the new lands must have possessed the remoteness and elusive outlines of a dream: only to the next generation, who had been born into a world which included a fourth part, was America a reality to be reckoned with. Hence it is in the second decade of the sixteenth century that we first catch stray hints of plans for English expansion: "O what a thing it had been then," cries John Rastell,

If they that be English men
Might have been the first of all
That there should take possession
And made first building and habitation.

And according to the maps over which he pored, "These New Lands from the Khan of Cathay's land cannot lie little past a thousand miles." In other words, not more than sixty degrees of longitude separated North America from that land

¹ Paper read at the Conference of Anglo-American Historians, July, 1931.

of Cathay whose marvels had been described in one of the earliest English printed books, the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

To Rastell in 1519, the Pacific was still the Great East Sea, and he was perhaps the first to formulate, however dimly, the notion of an English "seat" in the north parts of America, serving as a half-way house to the Spiceries, or as a stepping-stone along an English trade route that should not infringe the prerogatives of Spain and Portugal. Not many years after the appearance of Rastell's *Interlude*, quoted above, the two Bristol and Seville merchants, Thorne and Barlow, were perfecting their plans for the discovery of a polar route to the Moluccas but they made no suggestion as to a settlement, and the first definite proposal for which documentary evidence is available does not occur until 1565-1566.

Before proceeding further it is perhaps necessary to say that the sixteenth century projectors were naturally profoundly influenced by the maps and globes which came into their hands, and that their canons of scientific criticism were very different from those of today. There is no scrap of evidence for the view put forward by modern maritime historians that they gave greater weight to the hydrographic charts prepared by cosmographer-pilots than to the maps compiled by academic geographers, but rather the reverse. The chart, by definition, omitted uncharted shores, but the seamen who used it went in full expectation of finding beyond the charted limits those further coasts which, because they had been reported or sighted, or because they had been inferred to exist from literary, philosophical, or physiographical considerations, were depicted on the cosmographer's map or globe. Thus, to say with the late Sir Julian Corbett that Drake's "instinct of a great navigator" allowed him to divine the absence of a Strait of Anian, or to neglect Mercator's maps as "imaginary geography" is to fail to understand the intellectual outlook and mental equipment of the men of the expansionist period.

Globes were studied far more closely than they are today, and because of their costliness, individual library globes continued to be used even when somewhat out of date, as contemporary tradesmen's accounts make us aware. One that was long popular was that of Gemma Frisius of Louvain, which can be proved to have influenced, among others whose names are connected with expansion, Richard Eden, Richard Willes, John Dee, the elder Hakluyt, Michael Lok, Martin Frobisher, and Humfrey Gilbert. Compiled partly from Spanish sources, it showed a northern strait of entry into the Pacific Ocean, called the Strait of the Three Brethren, in latitude 62°-63° N., which was quite short, so that after about 200 leagues or so open sea was reached and it was possible to turn south along the "back-side of America" into low latitudes. This strait matched Magellan's in the south, and either or both, according to the evidence of the globe, might be seized and held by a small force; but whereas Magellan's Strait had an evil reputation, and it was held impossible owing to strong currents to navigate it from west to east, the northern strait had plenty of sea-room. As was known, however, from Sebastian Cabot's experiences, its Atlantic entry was difficult of approach owing to dangerous ice-conditions, and it was reasonable to infer that the best way of exploring it was from the farther or Pacific end.

This was the scheme proposed in a document preserved among the State Papers and dated March 1573/4 which is endorsed in Burghley's hand as "Mr. Greynfeld's (*i. e.*, Grenville's) voyage". An English expedition was to pass through Magellan's Strait, fortifying it if it were deemed necessary, and then make for the northern strait and spend six months in thoroughly exploring and charting its western approaches. If time allowed, lands suitable for settlement were to be reconnoitred and Cathay visited, while eventually the explorers were to pass right through the strait in the late summer when the ice-conditions in the Labrador region at its Atlantic exit

would be most favorable. Once exactly charted, the approach from the Atlantic would cease to present difficulties, and by these means the Strait of the Three Brethren would become definitely the English gateway to the Pacific Ocean.

That the English might take such action was always present in Spanish minds, and Friar Andrés Urdaneta urged upon Philip II. the importance of securing the passage as early as 1559, while the merchant Hawks, who lived in New Spain during the '60s, reported to Hakluyt that it was known over there as "the Englishmen's Strait". Pedro Sarmiento, one of the ablest of Spanish hydrographers and master-seamen, was of opinion that it would provide the safest and most rapid way out of the Pacific for Drake and his booty in 1579, while when, in the course of the second circumnavigation a few years later, the *Content* lost company with Thomas Cavendish's ship, the *Desire*, the Spanish pilot who had been commandeered for the sake of his Pacific experience gave it as his opinion that the *Content* had sought this strait and gone home. It was because he thought in terms of the globe of Gemma Frisius that Martin Frobisher swore that he had arrived at a point between the "Capes of Asia and America", i. e., the western end of the strait, in 1576, and it was in the expectation that the next few hundred leagues would carry the ships southward into temperate climes that the elder Hakluyt gave a set of notes on colonization to one of the gentlemen sailing with Frobisher in 1578. These notes, subsequently printed in the *Principal Voyages*, were originally prepared for Gilbert's colonizing project on the east coast of America, and deal with the choice of a seat, and the type of agriculture that could be developed, in such terms as obviously refer to warm temperate latitudes (say 35°-45°). Gilbert's plans, however, did not materialize until 1583, and the advice in the notes were equally pertinent for a similar seat on the Pacific shore. They have no relation, of course, to the project for leaving Fenton with a hundred men in winter

quarters in the northern strait itself, a project rendered necessary by the fact that Frobisher had to spend the short summer of 1578 in lading his ships with the supposititious gold ore rather than in exploration.

Humfrey Gilbert, although he eventually became an "east coast" man, had, as a matter of fact, himself been the first to propose a Pacific seat. Influenced during his young days by Frisius's globe, he subsequently studied Ortelius's more up-to-date world-map of 1564, which depicted quite new possibilities. It indicated that once the intricacies of Labrador (or Baccalaos as the region was more usually called) were surmounted, the circumnavigation of the north coast of America presented no difficulties, for the Pacific was not closed in to the north (as the globe showed) by a huge northeasterly extension of Asia. Instead, the American coast bowed out westward so as to bring the section by the Sierra Nevada within a very few hundred leagues of Quinsay, the chief port of Cathay, and consequently an English "seat" near Sierra Nevada would command the Pacific end of the northern sailing route, while also serving as a receiving and distributing center for the trade of Cathay, Cipangu, and the Moluccas, all shown on the map as readily approachable from the one point. Gilbert, in his sketch-map drawn to illustrate his proposals, somewhat exaggerated the favorable location of the Sierra Nevada region, and although his pamphlet, written in 1566, was not printed until 1576 when Frobisher was already on the eve of sailing, it undoubtedly influenced subsequent thought.

The Ortelius map of 1564 indicated in a very striking manner another virgin field for English enterprise in the shape of the great continent which it displayed as closing the Pacific Ocean to the south and southwest. The shore of this continent ran almost directly northwestward from Magellan's Strait to New Guinea, and thus it presented vast tracts of land in temperate, warm temperate, and tropical latitudes.

The narratives of the Spanish discoverers of the Solomon Islands show that this continent was believed in by practical seamen, and its possibilities must have been present in the minds of the group of west country gentlemen (including Grenville) who petitioned for a commission for the "*Discovery of Lands beyond the Equinoctial*" in 1575. Their proposal was definitely for the settlement of a colony, the precedent of Stuckley's abortive Florida adventure being cited, while the location was to be in latitudes matching those of England, but involving no encroachment upon the possessions of Spain and Portugal, merely a sailing past their shores. No other lands outside *Terra Australis* fulfil all these conditions, and confirmatory evidence is afforded by the depositions before the Inquisition made by John Oxenham and John Butler, cited by Mrs. Nuttall, to the effect that Grenville and Drake had spoken of undertaking the settlement of "good lands", unoccupied by the Spaniards, in the South Sea.

More direct evidence is afforded that such projects were being formulated in English minds by the writings, guarded though these were, of John Dee in 1576-1577, and by the Draft Plan,² recently discovered by the present writer, of Drake's voyage of 1577-1580. Dee, who was among the first to conceive of an Imperial Britain, was in favor of approaching the Pacific by the northeast passage, and suggested sailing eastward

till we are in due place to turn our course southerly to the New and Oriental Guinea, and so . . . to enter and proceed upon the further discovery of that part which is least known to Christian men, and lies in the eye of envy of other great conquerors Christian, and most apt for the British wisdom, manhood, and travail to be bestowed upon henceforward.

What lay beyond New Guinea was, of course, precisely this great southern continent. The northern approach suggested by Dee was, however, rejected by the promoters of Drake's

² Cotton MSS. Otho. E. VIII. British Museum.

voyage, who included the Winters and John Hawkins as well as Drake himself, all men already familiar with ventures into tropical waters, and accustomed to leave the exploitation of the Arctic seas to the Muscovy Company's men. Drake, then, was to pass through the Straits of Magellan, and make a reconnaissance of a coast not in the possession of any Christian prince, sailing as far as 30° of south latitude, and bestowing presents on the native rulers encountered. The coast of Chile cannot have been intended, for it was settled by the Spaniards as far south as Valdivia, and they had explored and claimed possession of it still farther south than this. Only the coast that faced it across the Pacific, that of *Terra Australis* could have been in mind. The scope of Drake's instructions was enlarged before he actually sailed, for it is clear from John Winter's statement³ that the Moluccas were then the final objective, but the approach to the Moluccas from Magellan's Strait might have included a survey of the unknown coast, had it not turned out that fierce westerly and northwesterly gales made the course proposed impossible. Winter, however, took "first possession" of the southern shore of Magellan's Strait, while Drake, who undoubtedly had his Peru adventure, and not his promoter's plans, in his mind from the very outset, did not omit, once he found himself in the North Pacific, to take possession of the region near Sierra Nevada which had more than once been pointed out as the favorable location for an English "seat" or agricultural colony. A contemporary English translation (or rather three such translations) of the deposition of S. Juan de Antón, relative to his actions, makes it clear, however, that Mrs. Nuttall is in error in supposing that Drake carried "agricultural implements" for such a colony; the tools that were in the ship's hold were spades and pickaxes, probably for throwing up temporary fortifications.

That Drake on this voyage disproved the existence of

³ E. G. R. Taylor, "More Light on Drake" (*Mariner's Guide*, XVI. No. 2.)

a southern continent, or discovered the strait that bears his name, finds no justification from contemporary evidence, if closely examined. It is true that Hakluyt, for his own purposes, expunged *Terra Australis* from the map drawn by Emery Molyneux which he published in 1600, but it appears unchanged on Molyneux's globe, as preserved in the Middle Temple Library, while Drake's two pilots, Hood and Blacoller, stoutly denied that there was any alternative to the Magellan's Strait route when they were asked the question by Captain Fenton, 1582-1583. Directly Drake returned, there was a proposal to the queen for the incorporation of a company for exploiting lands south of the equinoctial, and simultaneously a plan was put forward⁴ for seizing the Straits of Magellan and planting a large settlement on their shores. It was not then known, of course, that the Spaniards had made a like plan to prevent a repetition of Drake's raids. The English project had its amusing side: it was well known at home that the Cimmarons, the escaped negro slaves of Vallano in Panama, had been for years the ready allies of Drake and other English raiders in the Caribbean, and it was suggested that Drake could bring these people in as large a number as could be wished to form the working population of the new settlement, while Thomas Clerk, a notorious pirate, "upon promise of pardon" could be induced to lead an English contingent of men and women thither (condemned criminals "in whom there may be found good hope of amendment").

And planting over them a few good English captains, and maintaining in the bays of the Straits a good navy, there is no doubt but that we shall make subject to England all the golden mines of Peru and all the coast and breadth of that firm of America upon the sea of Sur, yet not fortified. And work the like effect upon the hither side of that firm.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic (Elizabeth).

The last sentence refers to the suggested seizing of St. Vincent, the most southerly Portuguese settlement in Brazil, which in 1580 came under the Spanish crown, and the fact that when Edward Fenton in 1582, baffled by the presence of a Spanish armada in the straits, pressed on his sea council a return to St. Vincent, may be not unrelated to this plan.

Fenton's voyage, as originally conceived, embraced a "leave to inhabit" in the Far East, within the Pacific area. Christopher Carlisle was to remain there with such men, munitions, supplies, and shipping as could be spared from the fleet,⁵ and the chaplain, Richard Madox, armed with a license "to preach to all the world" proposed to stay with him. Jealousy of Drake's officers, however, kept Carlisle at home with a pretended attack of ague, and since Fenton never reached the south seas, the project lapsed. How well-known to the world at large were these English plans for seizing by some means or another, control of the Pacific, is evidenced by public comment from more than one quarter. Thus the Portuguese historian, Lopez Vaz, writes about 1586:

If any foreign nation should become lords of the South Sea, the King of Spain might have his treasure conveyed [by land] into this town of Cartagena from Peru and so into Spain. . . . This I write only that I know some Englishmen have thought, that in taking the South Sea, or Panama, or Nombre de Dios from the King of Spain, his treasure of Peru could not be conveyed unto him, and that the king could not succour Peru if he wanted help. Howbeit I do here most certainly assure you that there be many ways to Peru.

As has already been noted, John Dee was a firm believer in the northeast passage as the best English route to the Pacific, for according to his reading of the world map, the Scythian Sea (north of eastern Asia) was an ample anti-chamber to the Pacific Ocean, and lay in temperate latitudes. He was in close touch with Richard Hakluyt who, like himself, acted in a semi-official advisory capacity to various trad-

⁵ Cotton MSS. Otho. E. VIII.

ing companies and syndicates of the day: both occupied themselves with the organization of the voyage of Pet and Jackman in 1580 (which Dee probably hoped might show Drake the way out of the Pacific), and Hakluyt framed a scheme of observations to be made by the two sea-captains with the object of establishing a series of English stations along the route. They were to look out for some readily fortified island off the north coast of Asia, or failing that, for some point on the Arctic side of the passage way, capable of providing an English entrepôt, on the lines of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, to which the Cathay fleet could resort for trade. Hakluyt emphasized, moreover, the value to England of such a settlement as an independent source of fish, which was at that time imported in quantity from Iceland and other foreign sources, and he noted that if it was found that this route to the Pacific led through a narrow strait, and not (as Dee supposed), through a wide sea, the occupation of both shores of the strait would enable the English to exact tolls and dues from all passing shipping as the king of Denmark did in the sound. The elder Hakluyt, it may be recalled, was an economist, and believed that for England the highroad to prosperity lay, not in searching for treasure, nor even in foreign trade, but in establishing productive colonies and enterprises overseas, whereby "trade within the empire" might be developed and dependence upon foreign imports reduced. He was familiar with his friend Dee's reading of ancient history, according to which the conquests and colonies of Kings Alfred and Malgo, followed centuries later by the voyages of the Thornes, the Cabots, Richard Chancellor, and the Burroughs, gave to Queen Elizabeth the claim, by first possession, to the whole circuit of Arctic lands, besides all temperate North America. Dee held also that a sovereign's jurisdiction extended for a hundred miles from every coast seaward, and thus he assigned to "this Incomparable Islandish Impire", as he was the first to term this country, a very substantial North Pacific foothold.

All this he put down in writing more than once at the queen's express command, and there is no doubt that the idea of wearing an imperial crown afforded her great pleasure. But if Dee is to be believed, Lord Burghley looked at him askance and refused to discuss such matters, and since with the rapidly changing political situation of the '80s, all the old projects which were based on keeping the peace with Spain went into the melting pot, Dee's empire of the north,⁶ like Grenville's empire of the south, remained a dream which it was left for later generations to bring into being.

E. G. R. TAYLOR.

London.

⁶For John Dee and his writings see E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography* (London, 1930).

ST. BARTHOLOMEW: SWEDEN'S COLONIAL AND DIPLOMATIC ADVENTURE IN THE CARIBBEAN

The Swedes came late to the West Indies, and later came again. The history of their first penetration into the Caribbean is largely the story of the vicissitudes of various Swedish trading vessels which plied among the islands of the Antilles during the seventeenth century.

The second attempt of Sweden in tropical America—avowedly a colonial enterprise spanning the later eighteenth century and the greater part of the nineteenth—seems to have escaped the pen of the historian these many years: the story of the Island of St. Bartholomew. It is perhaps owing to its diminutive size that this lone Swedish outpost in the new world has received such scant space in the innumerable accounts of colonization in the West Indies. Yet despite its mere eight square miles of territory and 2,500 natives, St. Bartholomew is historically of twofold significance. Colónially, the island constituted the little publicized attempt of one more European power to found an overseas empire. Diplomatically, it figured in the foreign relations of the United States, and—what is quite novel—its transfer to France in 1878 strangely did not draw a forbidding shout of “Monroe Doctrine” from the American state department.

Nothing is known of St. Bartholomew previous to the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1648, it was occupied by the French. According to Du Tertre in his classic volume on the early history of the French West Indies, it was settled by a party of fifty or sixty under one Jacques Gentes who were sent out from St. Christopher by De Poincy, lieutenant general of the French West India Company. A governor named “le Sieur le Gendre” was chosen ruler. After experiencing a checkered career in cultivating cacao, during which

period the island passed to the Knights of Malta and back to the West India Company, the growing prosperity of St. Bartholomew was swept aside by a fierce attack by the savage Caribs. The cacao trees which constituted the remunerative yield of the colony were burned, and the white inhabitants who managed to escape retired to the neighboring settlement of St. Christopher. This occurred in 1656, and it was not until 1659 that another attempt was made to colonize St. Bartholomew.¹ The French West India Company in time did not fail to prove its kinship to its prototypes of other nationalities, for the organization ran the usual course of corruption and glorious inefficiency to such lengths that it was dissolved by royal edict in 1674.² Thus St. Bartholomew was among the territorial assets annexed to the crown dominion of Louis XIV.

In the years that followed, St. Bartholomew declined agriculturally and became the headquarters of buccaneers, among those having their rendezvous there being the fierce Montbars, "the Exterminator".³

During the American Revolution, St. Bartholomew was utilized by the French for naval operations. Then, in 1781, Lord Rodney led his British squadron against it, and it fell in early March of that year.⁴ Of his capture of the island, Rodney wrote Sir Philip Stevens that it "would prevent the French privateers from sheltering themselves under it, and distressing His Majesty's subjects".⁵ It was by the treaty of 1789 with England that St. Bartholomew was returned to France.

¹ Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles Françaises* (Paris, 1671), I. 408-409, 416, 508; II. 37.

² Thomas Southey, *Chronological History of the West Indies* (London, 1830), II. 108-110; G. T. Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Geneva, 1781), VII. 11-12.

³ Frederick Ober, *Our West Indian Neighbors* (New York, 1904), p. 316.

⁴ Francis R. Hart, *Admirals of the Caribbean*, p. 179.

⁵ Godfrey B. Mundy, *Life and Letters of Admiral Lord Rodney* (London, 1830), II. 55.

But it was not for long that the French were destined to hold St. Bartholomew, for King Gustavus III. came on the colonial scene. As far back as 1774, this adventurous Swedish monarch had nurtured hopes of a possession in the West Indies, and had even gone so far as personally to draft instructions to his minister at Madrid, Baron Sparre, to sound the Spanish Government on parting with Trinidad, Margarita, or Puerto Rico. But the Spaniards turned frigidly away from the proposal, and soon Sparre became interested in other affairs.⁶

Four years after this attempt to secure one of the Spanish possessions, the Marquis de Lafayette, who had returned from the new world to hatch all sorts of schemes to obtain concessions for the sorely pressed American colonists in the struggle against England, had proposed that Sweden transfer some of its warships to the Americans in return for one of the West Indian islands to be taken from the English. Even Gustavus, however, was not so politically indiscreet as to accept any such proposal which would throw him into war against England.⁷

But the king was not kept long in check. The idea of a colony in the Caribbean continued to haunt him. Such a piece of territory would provide a market for Swedish manufactures, a place for naval maneuvers, as well as an outlet for the "hotheads" within the country who continued to be thorns in his side. Gustavus's first choice was Puerto Rico, although the royal eye soon rested longingly on Tobago, St. Vincent, Grenada, and St. Christopher. An appeal was accordingly made to Vergennes, the French foreign minister, to exert pressure on the court at Madrid to part with one of the Spanish Islands. This proved of no avail.⁸

Both Odhner and the French scholar Geffroy—each work-

⁶ C. T. Odhner, *Sveriges Politiska Historia under Konung Gustaf:s Regering* (Stockholm, 1885), Forsta Delen, pp. 393-394.

⁷ Odhner, *op. cit.*, Andra Delen, p. 79.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

ing with archival material—relate that when Marie Antoinette's Swedish paramour, Count Fersen, left Europe to serve as adjutant to General Rochambeau in the American Revolution, he received a personal mission from Gustavus to endeavor to interest the American colonists in ceding a colony to Sweden. Odhner hazards the somewhat incredible supposition that Gustavus had in mind the old Swedish settlement on the Delaware, which still kept up an ecclesiastical relationship with the former mother country.⁹

Not content with despatching Fersen to America for the cherished foothold in the new world, the king placed another diplomatic iron in the fire. He now turned his attention toward securing the West Indian Island of Tobago from France. In 1781, he emphatically wrote Baron Stael-Holstein, his enterprising minister at Paris who aspired to the rank of ambassador:

"C'est Tobago que je veux. Si vous n'obtenez pas Tobago, (car c'est Tobago que je veux), je dois dire avec sincérité que vous devez contenter du titre de ministre plénipotentiaire et que vous devez renoncer à l'ambassade. . . ."¹⁰

For two years, Stael-Holstein worked on Vergennes and other French ministers to effect the cession of Tobago to Sweden, but without success. He was accordingly forced to direct his efforts toward the acquisition of another island of less importance to France, and this was agreed to by the colonially ambitious Gustavus. Vergennes inquired as to what Sweden had to offer in return, whereupon Stael-Holstein's negotiations took the form of a renewal of a commercial treaty dating from 1741. The Swedish diplomat made it plain that one of the conditions of the renewal was the cession by France of one of its West Indian islands. At the suggestion of the Marquis de Castries, the French minister of marine, St. Bartholo-

⁹ A. Geffroy, *Gustave III et la Cour de France* (Paris, 1867), II. 40. Odhner, *op. cit.*, Andra Delen, p. 80.

¹⁰ Geffroy, *op. cit.*, I. 377.

mew was chosen. Castries naturally realized that the island was practically worthless. In return, Stael-Holstein agreed to special trade privileges in the Swedish port of Gothenbourg. The convention was signed in the summer of 1784.¹¹ It is known that Gustavus was pleased with the acquisition of St. Bartholomew, "although he had no notion of its value".¹²

In the year following the cession, Gustavus despatched to St. Bartholomew the frigate *Sprengtporten*, commanded by one Captain Puke, accompanied by the auxiliary ship *Triton*. Aboard were the newly appointed governor of the Island, Count Rajalin; a physician who likewise acted as secretary; a minister of the gospel; and a garrison of fifty men, to be used for service on the island. In this same year, two merchantmen set sail for St. Bartholomew, and returned to Sweden with cargoes of various goods. The reports sent home by Rajalin revealed that, while the population of the colony numbered 950 and was steadily increasing, the plantations would never be able to support the whole settlement. The result was that the port was declared "free".¹³

In 1786, there was formed the Swedish West India Company for the promotion of the trade of the island. King Gustavus gave the organization a fifteen-year patent, which included the right to trade with the West Indies and North America, as well as to engage in the slave traffic of the African coast. The ships of the company were permitted to fly the royal Swedish flag, and were given the privilege to fight under it if molested in their economic endeavors. The company was likewise to collect the taxes of the crown on St. Bartholomew and administer the royal property. All Swedish subjects were eligible to hold stock in the enterprise. The charter likewise retained its nationalistic tinge by compelling

¹¹ Carl Sprinchorn, "Sjuttonhundratalets Planer och Förslag till Svensk Kolonisation Främmande Världsdelar", *Historisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm, 1923), Arg. 43, pp. 150-151.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹³ Odhner, *op. cit.*, Andra Delen, pp. 382-383.

all vessels engaged in the trade to sail from, and return to, either Stockholm or Gothenbourg.¹⁴

Governor Rajalin returned home in 1787, and his successor was given the less pretentious title of "commander"; the intendant of the company was similarly given the lowly rank of "agent".¹⁵ Thus the insignificant colonial enterprise begun a few years previous along impressive lines gradually sunk to its natural proportions. Gustavia, the main port of St. Bartholomew, steadily declined in the decade following its transfer to Sweden. In 1785, the value of goods imported from the West Indies did not exceed £13,400.¹⁶ Agriculturally, the colony yielded little beyond a limited supply of cotton, tobacco, and tropical woods. In addition, so inadequate was the water supply on the island that the inhabitants were obliged to depend on rain.¹⁷

The assassination of Gustavus in 1792 removed the driving force—in fact, the very life and soul—of Swedish colonization. The government at Stockholm, now controlled by regents during the minority of Gustavus's heir, did not seem to look with patience on overseas possessions. The result was inevitable neglect and indifference so far as St. Bartholomew was concerned. The Bourbons in France had been ousted by the time the Swedes definitely decided to be rid of their West Indian colony. Obviously, the radical republicans of Paris, with their backs to the wall in stemming the tide of foreign interventionists, would have little inclination or energy to favor the reactionary régime in Stockholm. Under the political circumstances, it was not to France that Gustavus's successors could appeal to take St. Bartholomew from a sorely distressed Swedish treasury.

What more eligible buyer, then, than the United States?

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*; Brougham and Vaux: *An Inquiry into the colonial Policy of the European Powers* (Edinburgh, 1803), I. 498-500.

¹⁵ Odhner, *op. cit.*, Andra Delen, pp. 382-383.

¹⁶ Brougham and Vaux, *op. cit.*, I. 500.

¹⁷ J. MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics* (London, 1848), IV. 112.

So it was that in 1798 the Swedish minister at Berlin approached John Quincy Adams, who was at the time in the Prussian city, with a proposal to buy St. Bartholomew for a price equal to the cost of its maintenance since its cession from France fourteen years previous. Adams took it upon himself to express bluntly to the Swedish envoy that the American Government would not accept any island in the West Indies "as a gift", declaring his belief that it was "contrary to the political system of the United States to wish for the possession of colonies".¹⁸ He nevertheless communicated the offer to Secretary of State Pickering, who seems to have been equally opposed.¹⁹

In time, however, the Swedes for a period had reason to smile smugly at Adams's refusal of their offer. Circumstances at the opening of the nineteenth century rendered St. Bartholomew prosperous. During the English occupation of the nearby Danish West Indies, English merchantment alone were to be seen in the harbor of St. Thomas, and products were necessarily passed over to St. Bartholomew. The Swedish port of Gustavia thus enjoyed an ephemeral importance.²⁰

It was in this era of comparative fruitfulness on St. Bartholomew that the Swedes were given the opportunity to enlarge their West Indian "empire" by acquiring the richer and more important neighboring island of Guadeloupe. In 1813, England, to snare another European ally to aid in carrying on the war against Napoleon, entered a military alliance at Stockholm whereby Guadeloupe, recently seized from the French, was to be ceded to the king of Sweden following the landing of Swedish troops on the continent. Strangely enough, by this same agreement, the English, like the French in 1784,

¹⁸ Worthington C. Ford (ed.), *Writings of John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1913), II. 381-382.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

²⁰ A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston & New York, 1908), p. 506. J. P. Knox, *Historical Account of St. Thomas* (New York, 1852), p. 104.

received special trade privileges in the port of Gothenbourg.²¹ But with the same indifference characteristic of all Scandinavian colonization, the Swedes failed to avail themselves of this colonial opportunity, and so, the following year, by the Treaty of Paris, England returned Guadeloupe to France. The English were careful to specify that "His Majesty the King of Sweden gives up all the rights he may have acquired to that Island".²²

During the decades following the close of the Napoleonic wars, St. Bartholomew figured in the relations between the United States and Sweden. In the commercial treaty concluded between the two nations in 1816, the island enjoyed equal privileges with the mother country, for the treaty provided for a reciprocal liberty of commerce between the territories of the United States and those of his Majesty the king of Sweden and Norway.²³ So it was that while the trade of St. Bartholomew was a monopoly of the homeland at this particular period in its history, American vessels were permitted to trade between American ports and the island.

In 1823, St. Bartholomew was drawn into the affairs of the United States. It happened that congress had passed a resolution requesting the president to communicate to the house of representatives any information concerning the armed expeditions against any dependency of a foreign power, and to report what steps had been taken to bring to punishment those involved in such a movement.²⁴ The purpose of this congressional edict was to dampen the enthusiasm of militant American patriots and merchants intent on ousting European colonists from the new world. President Monroe accordingly reported that a force of a limited extent had been equipped in American ports and, the secretary of the treas-

²¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I. 299-301.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

²³ W. M. Malloy, *Treaties and Conventions of the United States with foreign Powers*, II. 1743.

²⁴ James D. Richardson, *Papers and Messages of the Presidents*, II. 200-201.

ury had informed him, sailed away to St. Bartholomew with armed equipment. The expedition was a failure, but the president assured the house that "should any of those persons return within the jurisdiction of the United States, care will be taken that the laws applicable to such offenses are duly enforced against them. . . ."²⁵

Scarcely six years had passed when St. Bartholomew was the storm-center in the negotiation for the renewal of the 1816 commercial treaty between the United States and Sweden. James J. Appleton, American minister at Stockholm, was instructed by Secretary of State Henry Clay to propose "a stipulation of a more liberal and comprehensive character—that is, that whatever can by law be imported from, or exported to, any foreign country, place, or possession, including the colonies of either party, may be in those of the other, the foreign vessel and her cargo paying no higher or other duties or charges of any kind than the national vessel".²⁶ This article would open the trade, as well between St. Bartholomew and the ports of Sweden and Norway, as between any other country and those ports, to the vessels of the United States. This provision would be an advance upon the expiring treaty, in that American commerce would not be limited to the direct trade between St. Bartholomew and the United States, but could engage in all the trade of the colony, that between it and the mother country excepted.

The treaty of 1827, in the form which Appleton proposed, made separate mention of St. Bartholomew wherever there might be an opportunity of interpreting the stipulation as not extending to it. He also made the trade of the colony the subject of a special memorandum to Count Wetterstedt, the minister of state and foreign affairs.²⁷ Appleton's efforts after much diplomatic wrangling were crowned with success, and the Swedish chamber of commerce, with some reluctance

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, VI. 728.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

it is true, agreed to surrender the exclusive monopoly of the St. Bartholomew trade.

In the following year—1828—St. Bartholomew once more figured in Swedish-American relations, this time in a legal tilt between the two nations. A privateer flying the flag of the Republic of Buenos Aires stopped an American vessel on the high seas and seized part of its cargo on the ground that it belonged to Spain, with which Buenos Aires was at war. The American sloop-of-war *Erie* came on the scene and chased the privateer into the harbor of St. Bartholomew. Captain Turner of the *Erie* demanded that the authorities of the island surrender the commander of the privateer as a piratical aggressor on the property of the United States. When the demand was refused, Turner summarily cut the vessel out.²⁸

As a consequence of Turner's action in the neutral port, Baron Stackelberg, the Swedish minister at Washington, made a surprising demand for indemnity on Secretary of State Clay. Upon what legal grounds the claim was based can not be determined, but the secretary was agreed that the act of Captain Turner should be disavowed. President Adams went a step further and insisted that the disavowal should be accompanied by an earnest protest against the action of the St. Bartholomew authorities in harboring the privateer.²⁹ Nevertheless, nothing was done during the remainder of Adams's administration, and the question was inherited by Andrew Jackson. On January 3, 1833, President Jackson recommended that the losses incurred by the Swedish citizens of St. Bartholomew be repaid by the United States.³⁰ Apparently, congress did not interpret the case to the point of recognizing that the St. Bartholomew people suffered pecuniary losses, for there is no record that they were paid anything.

The government at Stockholm, moved by the mounting deficits incurred annually by its lone colony and with the

²⁸ *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), VIII. 90.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁰ Richardson, *op. cit.*, II. 609.

treaty of 1827 ending the monopoly of the St. Bartholomew trade, looked around once more for a purchaser. The national legislature had empowered the king to rid the country of the island, and so in 1845 an informal overture was again made to the United States through Mr. Lay, the American envoy.³¹ James Buchanan, then secretary of state, replied to Ellsworth, Lay's successor, that he had submitted the proposal of acquiring the island to President Polk, who seemed wholly averse. Buchanan thereupon wrote Stockholm: ". . . the acquisition of the distant insular possessions, for colonial dependencies, has never been deemed desirable or expedient by the United States".³²

So far as the United States was concerned, St. Bartholomew for the next two decades was lost sight of in the gigantic social and political issues confronting the nation in the years preceding the Civil War and throughout the conflict. But in 1868 the Swedish colony once more occupied space in the files of the American state department. As was inevitable in the face of the virtual bankruptcy of the island, it was again in the form of an offer to sell. With William H. Seward, one of the most ardent of early American imperialists, occupying the post of secretary of state, the Swedes with happy confidence submitted their offer. Accordingly, Baron Wetterstedt, the Swedish envoy at Washington, met Seward and President Johnson at the White House and there was discussed the transfer of St. Bartholomew to American sovereignty. The result of this informal meeting was a conference in Stockholm between Count Manderstrom, the Swedish foreign minister, and Bartlett, the American envoy. Manderstrom suggested the following terms in a treaty of cession: that the United States Government agree to pay certain island officials a yearly pension estimated at a mere six thousand dollars;

³¹ *Works of James Buchanan* (ed. John Bassett Moore, Philadelphia and London, 1909), VI. 212.

³² *Loc. cit.*

that the inhabitants of the colony be permitted to pass on the transfer in a plebiscite.³³

Supplementary correspondence between Stockholm and Washington ensued before a final decision was reached by the Swedes. Finally, Wetterstedt received instructions to discontinue negotiations. Apparently, there was fear in Sweden that any treaty involving a transfer of territory concluded by Secretary Seward would be turned down by the United States senate. Seward wrote Bartlett in May, 1868:

He [Baron Wetterstedt] stated to me informally that the suggestion of the cession to the United States of the Island of St. Bartholomew was made at a time when the immediate ratification of our treaty with Denmark for the cession of St. Thomas was confidently expected, but that that expectation not having been realized, the proposition for the transfer of St. Bartholomew would not for the present be made.³⁴

Professor Tansill in his recent exhaustive work on American annexation of the Danish West Indies relates that the St. Thomas treaty had been sent to the senate by President Johnson as far back as December, and the foreign relations committee did not even honor it as yet by taking action one way or another.³⁵ In view of this prevailing attitude in official Washington toward the acquisition of non-contiguous territories, it is scant wonder that the Swedes were wary.

But, despite the Danish treaty undergoing a lingering death in committee, Stockholm was evidently encouraged by the advent of the Grant administration in 1869, for Wetterstedt was instructed by his government to sound the new secretary of state, Hamilton Fish, on the proposal to buy St. Bartholomew. Fish turned frigidly away from the idea. Over in Stockholm, meanwhile, the new minister of foreign af-

³³ Bartlett to Seward, February 17, 1868, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Despatches, XI.

³⁴ Seward to Bartlett, May 15, 1868, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Instructions, XIV.

³⁵ Charles C. Tansill, *The Purchase of the Danish West Indies* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 91-102.

fairs, Count Wachtmeister, had approached Bartlett and informed him of the startling news that the Italian Government was endeavoring to open negotiations for securing St. Bartholomew, for use as a naval station. The American envoy accordingly notified Fish that Wachtmeister, before considering the offer of Italy, had requested a decision from the American Government.³⁶ The secretary of state did not even bother to mention the Italians in his reply, but contented himself with discouraging Swedish attempts to hand over the island to the Americans. He wrote Bartlett in part: "I am not aware that I gave Baron Wetterstedt any encouragement that a cession of the Island to the United States was desired by this Government".³⁷

Count Lewenhaupt at the opening of 1870 had replaced Wetterstedt as minister at Washington, apparently with instructions to try his hand where Wetterstedt had failed. Accordingly, he sent a note to Secretary Fish, again bringing up the question of sale. The terms offered by Lewenhaupt called for the transfer of the colony "gratuitously" on condition that a plebiscite be held in the island, that pensions be paid certain authorities, and that the United States purchase the property of the crown, estimated at 13,000 Spanish dollars.³⁸ Lewenhaupt took care to emphasize the Italians as possible rivals for St. Bartholomew, for he wrote Fish:

The Government of Italy has already offered to take possession of the Island on the above-mentioned terms, but before taking these proposals into consideration, the Government of the King has thought proper to renew its proposal to cede this Island to the United States.³⁹

³⁶ Bartlett to Fish, May 31, 1869, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Despatches, XI.

³⁷ Fish to Bartlett, June 17, 1869, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Instructions, XIV.

³⁸ Lewenhaupt to Fish, February 10, 1870, MSS. Department of State, Swedish and Norwegian Legation, Notes, V.

³⁹ *Loc. cit.*

Secretary Fish's answer to Lewenhaupt expressed the president's gratification at the courtesy of Sweden in offering the United States first option, and again refused to enter negotiations. He sent word: "Two other similar measures are pending and their approval by other branches of the Government may not be regarded as certain. . . ."⁴⁰ The secretary had reference to the looming sad fate in the senate of the Danish treaty for St. Thomas and that with Santo Domingo for the lease of Samaná Bay. In this same correspondence to Lewenhaupt, Fish made known his attitude concerning the possible transfer of St. Bartholomew to Italy:

As, however, we would prefer to avoid any controversy with a friendly power which acceptance by Sweden and Norway of the offer of Italy above referred to might involve, an acceptance which might be construed as adverse to that cardinal policy of the United States which objects to new colonies of European governments in this hemisphere, it is hoped that it might comport with the views of your Government to postpone for the present any definite disposition of the subject.⁴¹

Without examining the correspondence which passed between Rome and Stockholm, it is difficult to determine whether the Italians were actually in the market for St. Bartholomew, or whether they were merely used by the Swedish diplomats to frighten the United States into buying the island. Certainly if the Italians had designs, it is of historical significance that the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel, at the time barely unified as a national state, should have been in negotiation for a colony in the new world. But genuine or not, this doubtful Italian interest in the Swedish island is of relevance in a study of the much clouded and little publicized foreign policy of Hamilton Fish. Apparently he held that the Monroe doctrine should be enforced even to compelling weak, impoverished nations to continue to hold unprofitable American

⁴⁰ Fish to Lewenhaupt, February 14, 1870, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Notes, VI.

⁴¹ Fish to Lewenhaupt, February 14, 1870, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Notes, VI.

colonies, in the event that they refused to give them independent status or that the United States did not choose to purchase these colonies. An analogy to Fish's stand against Italian ownership of St. Bartholomew is seen in his attitude at this time toward potential German acquisition of the Danish West Indies. After the senatorial death blow had been administered to the St. Thomas treaty in 1870, Secretary Fish, on hearing vague reports that Germany was in touch with the Danish foreign office, set on vigilant watch several of the American ministers in Europe for further developments in the rumored negotiation.⁴²

Sweden seems to have considered it expedient to respect Fish's views, and so St. Bartholomew was taken off the international market until Grant had finished his second term. But the new Hayes administration was scarcely two months old when the Swedes again brought up the question of sale, this time with France. In May, 1877, the American minister at Stockholm, Christopher C. Andrews, cabled Secretary of State Evarts that he had been informed that the Swedish foreign office was in the midst of negotiations with the French.⁴³ Acting Secretary Frederick W. Seward, in reply to Andrews, expressed the improbability of a "friendly power like Sweden" considering such a transfer without first consulting the United States. He further instructed the American envoy to "communicate to the Department [of State] any additional information concerning it that may reach you".⁴⁴

But significant events were progressing swiftly and silently in Paris, and the "additional information" requested by Seward did not reach the ears of Andrews in Stockholm. On August 10, at the French capital the Swedish minister, Adelswärd, met Foreign Minister Decazes and there was signed the treaty which would recede St. Bartholomew to

⁴² Tansill, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-175.

⁴³ Andrews to Evarts, May 28, 1877, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Despatches, XVII.

⁴⁴ F. W. Seward to Andrews, June 20, 1877, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Instructions, XIV.

France after almost a century under the negligible and indifferent wing of Sweden. A plebiscite among the inhabitants of the colony was provided for.⁴⁵ In October a protocol was agreed to, which provided for the payment of 320,000 francs by the French Government. It was also stipulated that certain officials of the island were to be pensioned.⁴⁶

When Andrews in Stockholm was officially notified of the treaty a week following its conclusion, he voiced the belief that the proceedings would meet with much "dissatisfaction" in Washington, informing one of the secretaries at the foreign office that "opinion in the United States had always been sensitive in regard to the acquisition of territory in our neighborhood by European States".⁴⁷ The Swedish official's defense was that inasmuch as St. Bartholomew had originally been the property of France, there could not possibly be any objection on the part of the Americans. As for the foreign minister himself, when interviewed by Andrews he followed the identical defense of his subordinate, laying stress on previous French ownership of the island.⁴⁸

Strangely enough, there was no reply from Secretary of State Evarts concerning this direct defiance of the Monroe Doctrine. Having been presented with a *fait accompli*, he obviously believed it to be more expedient to remain silent, especially in view of the material insignificance of St. Bartholomew. The population of the island during this period numbered but 2,835.⁴⁹ It is nevertheless to be noted that the Franco-Swedish convention served to put Evarts on his guard, for two years later, on hearing reports that the French in their quest for naval stations had decided on the Danish West

⁴⁵ *Sverges Traktater med Främmande Magter*, Tolfte Delen, p. 624.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 625-627.

⁴⁷ Andrews to Evarts, August 21, 1877, MSS. Department of State, Sweden, Despatches, XVII.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Annuaire de la Guadeloupe et Dépendances*, 1880, p. 82.

Indies, he woke from his diplomatic slumbers and lost no time in instructing the American envoy at Paris accordingly.⁵⁰

The treaty for the transfer of St. Bartholomew was ratified the following year by both contracting parties. The French chamber of deputies stamped its approval by the extremely decisive vote of 425 to 8, and at the same time made the island a political dependency of Guadeloupe.⁵¹ The Swedish Riksdag in its action on the treaty revealed but one dissenting vote.⁵² In 1879, the Swedes also proved themselves humanitarians to the extent of refunding 80,000 francs of the sale price to the French for the erection of a charitable institution on the island.⁵³

On a sunny day in March, 1878, there steamed into the harbor of Gustavia the Swedish sloop-of-war *Vanadis*, and also several French vessels of similar type, to participate in the formal transfer of St. Bartholomew to France. Amid much pomp and ear-splitting music from French and Swedish military bands, Governor Ulrich officially handed over his island to M. Couturier, governor of Guadeloupe. This same day witnessed the reading of a proclamation from King Oscar thanking the inhabitants for their past loyalty to the Swedish crown. Another memorandum was delivered on behalf of France by Couturier, in which he extolled the benefits of French rule and which he terminated with the fervent words: "You have always loved France. . . . Let us then join our expression in the cheers: 'Vive la France! Vive la République!' . . ."⁵⁴

The transfer of St. Bartholomew to France was more than a mere matter of the barter and sale of an obscure island.

⁵⁰ Tansill, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁵¹ *Annales du sénat et de la Chambre des Députés, Session Ordinaire de 1878*, I. 151.

⁵² *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, p. 777.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 824.

⁵⁴ Edmond Plauchut, "L'Annexion de l'île Saint-Barthélemy à la France" *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1879, pp. 431-432.

Colonially, it marked indeed the passing of the overseas "empire" of Sweden and illustrated the futility of colonization ventures by weak powers. Diplomatically, the cession to France constituted one of the few examples of a clear-cut violation of the Monroe Doctrine which went unchallenged by the American State Department.

Today St. Bartholomew forms, with another neighboring island, the arrondissement of Basse-Terre, and is still a dependency of Guadeloupe, the very island which the Swedes were too slow in accepting when it was ceded to them by England in 1813. There seems to be no indication that the former Swedish colony has added materially to the colonial wealth of France.⁵⁵

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⁵⁵ For suggestions and aid in the preparation of this paper, the author wishes to express his obligation to Professor Harry J. Carman, of Columbia University, and Professor Charles C. Fansill, of the American University.

BOOK REVIEWS

Casa-Grande & Senzala. By GILBERTO FREYRE. (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, Ltda., 1934. Pp. xliv, 517.)

The title of this valuable study of Brazil during the colonial period may roughly be translated as "The Great House and the Slave Quarters". Thoroughly at home in the writings of the foremost anthropologists of Brazil and the United States, the author stresses the fundamental difference between race and culture in the evolution of Brazilian nationality. The relations between the whites and the persons of color were necessarily conditioned, in the opinion of Sr. Freyre, by the system of economic production (monoculture on great landed estates) and the scarcity of white women among the colonists. The cultivation of sugar destroyed the nascent democratic industries of brazil-wood and skins and demanded in turn an immense number of slaves. The raising of cattle, with its possibilities of democratic life, was relegated to the *sertão* or back country. In the agricultural zone, the richest and most populous portion of Brazil, there developed along with this monoculture a semi-feudal and patriarchal society, living in the great houses (*casas grandes*) and based on the labor of the slaves who dwelt in the *senzalas*.

It is this society that the author sets out to study. Victorious in a military way over the indigenous inhabitants, absolute rulers over the negroes imported from Africa, the conquerors to a certain extent succumbed to the conquered. Miscegenation or racial crossing served to bridge the gap between the great house and the slave quarters. And the social ills which afflicted Brazil, and whose results have not yet entirely disappeared, were not merely due to miscegenation, but also to monoculture with its deleterious effect on racial efficiency, and to diet, with the absence of fresh vegetables and the excessive consumption of dried fish, dried beef, and manioc. Thus the racial formation of Brazil is to be explained, in its virtues as well as its defects, less in terms of race and religion—although these are important—and more in economic and social terms, in monoculture and the organization of the family. The *casa grande* supplemented by the

senzala represented an entire economic, social, and political system in the domains of production, labor, transportation, religion, sexual, and family life. In colonial days, the *casa grande* was fortress, school, office, harem, convent, guest house, and bank. About the *senhor de engenho*, the proprietor of the *casa grande*, gradually evolved the most stable form of life in Hispanic America.

Chapter I of this voluminous work, entitled "The general character of Portuguese colonization in Brazil: the foundation of an agrarian, slave-holding and hybrid society", contains one of the most acute analyses of the strength and weakness of the Portuguese colonization in Brazil ever read by the reviewer. Chapter II, "The indigenous element in the formation of the Brazilian family", is a veritable treatise on Brazilian ethnology and anthropology. Chapter III, "The Portuguese colonization: antecedents and production", takes up again many of the topics adumbrated in the first chapter. Chapters IV and V, dealing with the negro slaves and the sexual and family life of the Brazilian colonist, analyze with a great wealth of detail the contribution of the negro elements to Brazilian history.

Even to enumerate the immense number of topics explored in detail by the writer would far transcend the scope of this review. They include such disparate subjects as the "acclimability" of the Portuguese in contradistinction to that of the Nordics, the type of plantation colony which developed in Brazil, the differences between the Portuguese and Spanish colonial systems, the rôle of the Jews in colonial Brazil, the contribution of the Jesuits, the rôle of foreigners, the part played by the Paulists, the ravages of venereal and other diseases, the importance of the French contingent in the early peopling of Brazil, a discussion of such racial sub-types as the "congaceiros", the "mulques", and the like, Indian and negro terms introduced into the Portuguese, the rôle of the Catholic Church in colonial Brazil, the contributions of the negro to the esthetic progress of Brazil, the adaptation of the negro to the hot climate of Brazil, the possibility of transmission of acquired characteristics, a comparison of the Brazilian negro with the United States negroes in the anti-bellum south, Mohammedanism in Brazil, negro witchcraft, early marriage and heavy mortality among women and children, cruelty and sadism due to slavery, precociousness of Brazilian children.

The author has familiarized himself with an amazing amount of

literature. Unfortunately, there is no bibliography other than the footnotes where the titles of the books, but not the page references, are given. The work, in the opinion of the reviewer, could profit somewhat by compression; in the last two chapters he finds an excessive preoccupation with questions of sex. Index and summary are both lacking, although the long introduction perhaps makes the latter unnecessary. There are a good many illustrations and diagrams which bear no immediate relation to the text. The many typographical errors will doubtless be corrected in subsequent editions. The author has promised a translation, but the task will be a formidable one owing to the large number of "Brazilianisms". Yet taken by and large, Sr. Freyre's work is one of the best sociological treatises that has ever appeared on Brazil. It is hoped that the brilliant writer will continue his studies into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Colonial Hispanic America: A History. By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN. Professor of Hispanic American History in the University of California. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. Pp. xiii, 401. \$2.40.)

Professor Chapman's book is intended primarily as a one-volume summary of colonial Hispanic America, suitable both for use as a college text book and for the general reader. Such a book could probably not have been written twenty or twenty-five years ago, before the students of the Bolton school had delved into the varied and detailed aspects of that colonial period. It is fitting that Professor Chapman, a colleague of Professor Bolton, and a recognized authority in his own right in the Hispanic American field, should have written this pioneer volume covering a period with which he is so familiar and sympathetic.

Professor Chapman's book covers familiar ground from the Spanish and Portuguese period of exploration and discovery of the fifteenth century to the achievement of independence by Spanish America and Brazil. The ground is familiar, but the treatment is new and stimulating. Professor Chapman has the gift of emphasizing the human interest element, of making new generalizations drawn from an exhaustive knowledge of the subject, and of subordinating dry details of

dates, names, and incidents so as to leave a general picture that is fresh and original.

He has approached his subject from an angle not hitherto attempted by writers in the field. He points out the ever-changing character of the colonial period itself, and the danger of making broad generalizations applying to the period as a whole. His book may be divided into four eras, in which both the narrative and institutional aspects are discussed. These eras are: (1) the Age of Discovery and its institutions, (2) the Hapsburg period, with its social, economic, and political life; (3) the pre-independence Bourbon era with its institutional features; and (4) the struggle for independence. The story of colonial Portugal and Brazil is woven in skilfully with its Spanish counterpart in separate chapters.

Five chapters, comprising 91 pages, are devoted to the first era; Chapters VI to IX (pp. 92-169) cover the second era; Chapters X-XI, the Bourbon period; and Chapters XII-XV, the struggle for independence. There is also a chapter on the attitude of England and the United States toward the wars for independence. The final Chapter (XVII) is entitled "The Maturity and Independence of Colonial Brazil". A critical bibliography, well selected maps and photographs, and a good index are also included.

It is evident that "Colonial Hispanic America" has been largely a labor of love, and its quality is somewhat uneven at times as befits the course of that tender passion. Professor Chapman writes an interesting account of the leading *conquistadores*, whom he makes stand out in vivid relief. He hurries over the lesser ones, for which the reader should be thankful. More than one-third of the text proper of the book is devoted to the wars of independence (pp. 213-345). In spite of all that has been written on Bolívar and San Martín, Professor Chapman creates them anew. It is not difficult to see that he slightly favors San Martín, although he has conscientiously tried to do full justice to Bolívar.

The institutional chapters on colonial society, the Spanish colonial political system, and the colonial economic system are enriched by the author's long personal residence and experience in the modern republics. He has found many direct connecting links with present times, and frankly shows that modern Hispanic America comes honestly by certain of its most criticized tendencies and customs. Yet

there is nothing to which the most ardent Hispanophile can justly take umbrage. The comments are those of a friend who knows and appreciates both the virtues and the failings of the people involved.

W. E. DUNN.

Cosmos Club,
Washington, D. C.

O Conde d'Eu. [Bibliotheca Pedagogica Brasileira, Serie V, Brasileira, Vol. XI.] By LUIS DA CAMARA CASCUDO. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933. Pp. 168. Edição ilustrada.)

Senhor Camara Cascudo's little volume, which is based upon printed and manuscript materials to be found in Brazil, is poorly proportioned and sketchy in character. The author, for instance, devotes thirty-nine pages to the genealogy of the house of Orleans, and in a scant two pages he disposes of the first twenty-two years of the subject of the biography, Gaston d'Orleans, Conde d'Eu.

But, for the conde's mature years, after his marriage with Isabel, princess imperial of Brazil, Senhor Camara Cascudo supplies more detail, particularly with reference to the important part played by the prince consort in the war against Paraguay. He also pays tribute to him as the first outspoken abolitionist in the Brazilian imperial family, and appears to think that he influenced the Princess Isabel in this regard. But the author scarcely touches the question of the conde's part in governmental affairs during the periods when his wife was regent for her father.

The book treats the prince consort with sympathy and fairness in connection with the systematic hostile propaganda of which he was the object, and it leaves the impression that the charges against him were largely false. But the author believes that the prince consort did not really understand the Brazilians, nor they him. For this, his temperament and European background were largely responsible. Undoubtedly, he loved Brazil and worked for that country's good; but he was home-loving and somewhat reserved, and had no fondness for the *festas* and street parades and the elaborate display so dear to the hearts of the Brazilians. His most serious fault was, obviously, his foreign birth. But this, and his family history, prepared him for the revolt which overthrew the empire. He was the only member of the imperial family to whom it did not come as a

shock. The thirty-three years of his life after the exile from Brazil are given scant consideration. At the end of the book are brief sketches of the careers of the conde and Isabel's three sons. The twenty-one illustrations are mostly portraits. There is a table of contents, but no index or bibliography. For all of its limitations, the volume probably contains more information on Gaston d'Orleans, Conde d'Eu, than any other published work.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Cartas do Imperador D. Pedro II ao Barão de Cotegipe. Arranged and annotated by WANDERLEY PINHO. [Bibliotheca Pedagogica Brasileira, Serie V, Brasiliana, vol. XII.] São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933. Pp. 4, 293. Illus.)

This collection, edited by the grandson of the Baron de Cotegipe, is made up of letters covering four separate periods in Brazilian history: 1855-1856, when Cotegipe was minister of finance and naval affairs; 1868-1870, when he was minister of foreign affairs and again of finance; 1875-1876, when he once more held the portfolio of the treasury; and 1885-1886, when he was president of the council of state and also foreign minister. The letters, as a whole, cast much light upon the happenings of these years, particularly upon the administrative problems of 1868-1870 and the military details of the war with Paraguay, which was going on at the time; for most of the volume relates to this period.

The letters of the emperor, which occupy considerably less than half of the book, are printed in bold, black type. They reflect the broad interests and many of the personal qualities of Dom Pedro. But they show nothing of the pleasing literary style in which he couched his friendly correspondence. The *cartas* of the volume are mostly concerned with the internal and external problems of the empire, and are short, direct, and almost telegraphic in their brevity. In the words of the editor, they are bureaucratic. They mostly ask questions, give instructions, or convey information to the minister.

They reveal how closely the emperor watched every detail of government, even during the last few years before his forced abdication, when his enemies declared him to have reached his dotage. And they supply the first incontrovertible published evidence that Pedro II.'s

rule was largely personal, as these same enemies claimed; that the "poder conservador" was a living force in Brazilian politics. But they offer no hint of the cause—that Dom Pedro learned early the necessity for constant vigilance and frequent manipulation if order and progress were to exist in "constitutional" Brazil.

The imperial letters are supplemented and explained by an occasional paragraph by the editor, and by a large number of epistles, chiefly from Cotegipe, written to the emperor and to others; but there are also many letters from Paranhos to Cotegipe, as well as many that were exchanged between other prominent Brazilians. All of this material is in much finer print than that from the pen of Dom Pedro. The volume contains an index and numerous portraits, mostly of the Baron de Cotegipe and the emperor.

Dr. Wanderley has performed a valuable service in making these letters accessible in print. It is to be hoped that his volume will inspire others to work in the same field. In the Bibliotheca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro is an important manuscript collection of Dom Pedro's letters, awaiting the editorial hand. Much material in his copious diaries, now in possession of Prince Pedro d'Orleans-Bragança at the Château d'Eu, is likewise worth publishing.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Whither Latin America? An Introduction to Its Economic and Social Problems. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934. Pp. xix, 185. \$2.00.)

This book gives the public in print a program for research in Hispanic America prepared by Dr. Tannenbaum for the Social Science Research Council and previously circulated in mimeographed form among a limited number of students interested in that subject. Any slight changes from the first version embody the writer's after-thoughts and possibly suggestions by these earlier readers. The author is qualified for the task he has undertaken by several years of previous research and writing upon Mexico. He now holds a Guggenheim fellowship for work in the wider field with which the present volume deals. In contrast with most existing literature upon the republics south of us this volume is conceived in a spirit of sober—almost depreciatory—realism. Although he has a predilection for

the lands and the peoples he discusses, Dr. Tannenbaum punctures many romantic soap bubbles concerning them.

A chapter is devoted to each of the following topics: population, industrialism, finance, foreign trade, transportation, education, labor, and agriculture. Each chapter sets forth briefly fundamental conditions in Hispanic America relating to its theme, with a brief conclusion indicating the principal research problems these present. None of these topics, with the possible exception of agriculture and agricultural resources, has been adequately treated by American writers. Since 1929, our people have learned something in a practical and painful way about Hispanic American finance. Had the twenty pages of Dr. Tannenbaum's summary of this subject been in every American investor's home ten years ago—and duly read and remembered—we might today enjoy good fortune beyond the proverbial allotment in being simultaneously wiser and richer.

Some readers may be unpleasantly disillusioned by this book. From the days of the *conquistadores* a golden halo has surrounded the popular idea of Hispanic America. That term still suggests to many vast regions replete with undeveloped, and indeed, unexplored, sources of wealth. It has been Dr. Tannenbaum's task to reduce such exaggerations to more modest dimensions. He describes certain handicaps, such as the racial composition of the population, absence of essential raw materials like coal, a topography making impossible a continental transportation system, concentration of the major land area close to the equator, and foreign capitalist control, which may prevent, and at best will retard the growth there of an industrial civilization comparable with that of Europe or North America.

Why is the economic life of Hispanic America so largely dominated by foreign concessionaires? Is this owing to the nature of its physical resources and the character of its population, which are permanent influences, or is it because these countries after four centuries of European occupation still linger in a state of colonial dependence? Dr. Tannenbaum thinks that the permanent factors are decisive, that Hispanic America gives no present promise of ever having great manufacturing industries supporting a lucrative foreign commerce, creating local capital to assure economic independence, and sustaining a standard of living and of public services that will lift the masses of its people to the highest cultural level. As long as

the exports of Hispanic America are limited to staple commodities like coffee, cacao, sugar, grain, provisions, and nitrates and other minerals, the prices of which are determined by international competition and the profits from which go into the pockets of foreigners, its citizens will suffer an economic handicap affecting every aspect of their political and social life. Dr. Tannenbaum does not suggest a remedy for this. Possibly in many regions a progressive peasant economy will best promote the welfare of the people.

A defeatist mood now colors our forecasting. In happier times we may view the prospects of our southern neighbors in a brighter light. But so far as we can foresee at present the future of the southern republics Dr. Tannenbaum's analysis is convincing. Yet the coming organization of Hispanic America may take forms we do not now envisage. The relative importance of its industrial raw materials is constantly changing. New materials supporting large and profitable domestic enterprises may be discovered there. Although the great population movements of the last two centuries are not likely to be repeated, we cannot predict with certainty what changes in racial character may result from unanticipated blood admixtures, new genetic strivings under the influence of future world forces, or planned programs of native betterment such as Mexico is now attempting. In a word, our fellow continentals must make their own adjustments to their environment. That environment has limitations which seem to preclude their following closely in the footsteps of the nations that have ruled the world during the past few centuries. But they may not live less happily or justify their existence less successfully for that reason.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Washington, D. C.

Documents concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main, 1569-1580. I. Spanish Documents. II. English Accounts. Edited by I. A. WRIGHT. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series, No. LXXI, issued for 1932.] (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1932. Pp. lxiv, 348; portrait, 2 maps.)

Miss I. A. Wright, one of the most distinguished contributors to Spanish-American history, has selected from the Archives at Seville documents that yield the first clear view of Drake in the Caribbean;

beside them she has placed the English accounts and related the two groups with cross-references, preceding both with an introduction whose sixty-four pages admirably tell the marvelous story in brief. There is nothing improbable, says Miss Wright, in the most famous incident of all, when Drake and Oxenham from a tree-top saw both oceans and planned to venture into the Pacific. "What is, however", she says,

almost inconceivable is the temper of men who, discomfited at every turn, having too little or no profit suffered what Drake and his companions endured, now ventured upon the most daring attack ever made upon Spanish-American treasure. That they held to their determination is indisputable evidence of the magnetic quality of Drake's personality and of his unbreakable resolve to return home successful from his first independent voyage into the Indies.

The attack upon the treasure pack-train as it crossed the isthmus in 1573, and Miss Wright's study show the newly-discovered Spanish accounts corroborating the English at every point and adding some features of their own. Drake's men marched to the middle of the isthmus and lay in ambush for the treasure-laden mules. When the first of the pack-train came down the road from Panamá one drunken fellow gave a shout that messed up the plan; a premature attack was thus forced on Drake, the gold train at the rear was warned, and Drake had to retreat. His danger was extreme, but extreme was his boldness, and he reached his ships. Almost immediately he tried again and with success. "Not luck nor even ability," says Miss Wright, "but indomitable British determination had wrought victory out of a year's miscarriages." Drake left his enemies poor, humiliated, and helpless. He himself was "made" in the making of this adventure. "For the next thirteen years he left the Indies to lesser men; when at length he returned it was not as 'a meane subject' but as an admiral commanding the ships of his queen." And not to barter or loot but to wage war, "the war of a rising Protestant nation against a great Catholic empire, the impotence of which he was to make manifest".

The reader may be recommended to begin with "Sir Francis Drake Revived", here reprinted for the first time from the 1628 edition. It tells a connected story, which may then be traced from and confirmed by the seventy-three Spanish documents, which have the additional value of a vivid picture, throwing light on colonial life

in many aspects. The later documents are valuable regarding Andrew Barker and, particularly, John Oxenham, whose expedition was a most serious affair, causing such panic as to shake the hold of Spain on its colonies.

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The Crimson Jester—Zapata of Mexico. By H. H. DUNN (New York: Robert H. McBride & Co., 1933. Pp. xv, 304. \$3.00.)

Here is a volume of memories that must be taken with considerable seriousness by any student of modern Mexico. Mr. H. H. Dunn is a newspaper man who is inclined to irritate the sober historian by his tendency to stress the spectacular and the unusual. Obviously, something of a hero in his own eyes, he nevertheless unfolds such a tale as to startle the reader and to justify in some degree his journalistic approach.

The book is almost as much of a character study of the author as of his spectacular subject, Emiliano Zapata. Mr. Dunn, by his own account, was one of the seven "eyes" (a kind of super-spy system) of the old Díaz government. As such he entered the Zapata country as a press reporter accompanied by a single Yaqui Indian attendant. Backed by years of life in Mexico and with a fair knowledge of the Indian languages he soon made contact with the rebel chieftain and was tolerated in camp. By shrewdness and presence of mind he became a trusted observer and adviser. He states that newspapers in Mexico City carried a story inferring that he had joined the rebels against Madero, but insists "The tale was completely false. My activities with Zapata . . . always was that [were those] of disinterested observer, . . ." However, while he rode in the fourth automobile behind Madero, as that hero entered Mexico City in his triumphal procession of June 11, 1911 (p. 101), yet that night he met with Zapata and disgruntled Maderista generals to discuss the advisability of eliminating Madero (pp. 105-106). Also the author freely contributed of advice to Zapata for his management of the horde.

Huerta is pictured as an able man who might have saved Mexico had it not been for the "American diplomacy" of the inept Presi-

dent Wilson (p. 182 ff.). Carranza is consistently presented as the "First Thief", who at the head of his "Cockroaches" was devouring the country; while Villa was a bandit of ability but utterly unscrupulous.

Most of the volume is naturally devoted to Emiliano Zapata, who though illiterate was so captivated by the author's account of the exploits of Attila that he thereafter signed himself "the Attila of the South". He is shown as a reckless bandit, surrounded by his Death Legion proudly flaunting the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe (the patroness of Mexico) standing on a skull and crossbones. He took spoils where he would and as he chose, whether of specie, bric-a-brac, or women—of the latter he seldom had over twenty at a time, though he apparently had no trouble in contracting alliances with leading families through a score of bogus marriages. With the power of life and death, he sentenced his victims by scores to death by the most horrible of tortures—yet the author insists Zapata had no personal pleasure in witnessing the agonies of his victims and never returned to watch them after once pronouncing sentence.

Probably the best part of the book is its interpretation of the southern Indian and his desire for land to be used on the primitive basis of no private ownership. What purports to be the original Plan of Ayala—quite different from most published versions—is given here. Zapata's career is shown as starting from this Indian basis till he rose in power to make three presidents. Meanwhile, mixed bloods had crept into his organization and came near to being its undoing. They were soon slaughtered wholesale and the return to Indianism is again noted.

It is not surprising to the author that the United States was notoriously hoodwinked by the crafty, far-sighted Guerrero Indian. Thus Carranza was made president, so that he in turn could be managed by Zapata (p. 196 ff.). Also it is claimed that Villa did not attack the United States in the Santa Ysabel massacre or in the raid on Columbus, New Mexico, but that this was the work of Carrancistas (p. 286).

Obviously the history of the Zapata Movement which for years controlled over half of Mexico with an army of up to 22,000 men has not been written. But when this is done the volume of Mr. H. H.

Dunn will have to be seriously considered as the memoirs of a man who, by his own account, played a not inconspicuous rôle in the drama.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

Columbia, South Carolina.

The Crime of Cuba. By CARLETON BEALS. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1933. Pp. 441. Illus. \$3.00.)

This book, written before Machado's fall, was probably intended only to influence the United States against further interference in Cuba. Readers will suppose it a history of Cuba since independence, and it must be so reviewed. It lengthily discusses events before 1902. Beals mentions the republic's inherited problems of race, land distribution, illiteracy, political inexperience, and swarms of greedy veterans. He notes casually how the world war swelled sugar production. But he emphasizes only the effects of the Platt Amendment and United States capitalistic penetration.

"[After Spain] came America . . . [to] snatch victory from our grasp", said the Cuban professor to Beals. The latter explains how the Platt Amendment and foreign capital prostituted Cuban political life. Machado, the archtype of a resultant series of dictators, he points out, developed graft and favored foreign capital to an unprecedented degree, ruling through a well paid army, intimidated courts, and ruthless violence. One thousand political murders in his régime, says Beals, is a "conservative estimate". Opponents found even Mexico unsafe. Schools, including the University, were closed as opposition centers. The world depression added to distress. United States officials steadily intimated approval of Machado and helped block movements against him. United States sugar companies and banks, loaded with unsalable sugar, concocted the Chadbourne crop restricting plan. By this, Beals claims, Cuba handed part of its market to less favored competitors. This eliminated thousands of the only jobs available in a one-crop country, but indubitably the plan helped capitalists dispose of "frozen" stocks.

The most valuable part of Beals's story relates how Cuban opposition to Machado turned to underground organization. There arose finally the "A. B. C.", convinced that terrorism was its only recourse. According to Beals, it represents a liberal, decent, better class "youth" element, conspicuously not of the old veteran clique.

Beals relates this in slipshod English, monotonous with strident irony and once (p. 394) completely incoherent. His main sources appear to have been Jenks's and Chapman's studies, supplemented by Cuban writings and conversations. He apparently made no effort to offset the similar biases of his sources. Careless errors abound. For instance, Havana's Morro was not built in 1597 (p. 21). Cuba had no viceroys (pp. 71-72). Trade was not restricted to one annual ship (p. 98). "Our own 1899 census of Cuba" shows no 1892 census. If there is one, Beals should not compare its figures with those of 1899 (p. 129) without allowing for differing accuracy. Such slips affect Beals's primary purpose little, but they destroy confidence in statements less easy to check. The story of independent Cuba, through Beals's pen accusation of United States policy and its big business motivation, becomes a sufficient explanation of Cuba's woes.

Now, this reviewer dislikes big business in foreign or domestic politics; he believes that the Platt Amendment was a mistake and is an anachronism; and he agrees with Beals's fundamental charges. Yet the book's intemperance alienated him. It will completely repel the type of reader who needs Beals's information. One wonders from whose grasp the United States snatched victory: that of Cuba or of a Creole exploiting clique. (Not that that concerns the United States!) Peoples, one imagines, have the government they deserve. Certainly graft tainted public works, and Machados, are known in countries not dominated by foreign influences.

Beals's book gives no idea that anything serious ails Cuba except United States malfeasance; but great influence though that be, it is not the whole story. Beals is an honest reporter, aided by fluency in the Spanish tongue, but his sympathies smother his critical faculties and his sense of proportion. One regrets that he tried historical interpretation instead of recording what he saw and heard. He makes so little distinction between original and secondary information that his work is nearly valueless to the historian. The best that can be said is that the book may help English-language readers to understand the Cuban viewpoint, and will not seriously harm them.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California
at Los Angeles.

The Modernist Trend in Spanish-American Poetry. Collection of Representative Poems of the Modernist Movement and the Reaction. Translated into English Verse with a Commentary by G. DUNDAS CRAIG. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934. Pp. xii, 347. \$4.50.)

There has long existed among students of Hispanic American history an unfortunate disposition to minimize or ignore the achievements of our southern neighbors in the domain of Belles Lettres. This neglect may find partial justification on the grounds that much of the material is widely scattered and refractory in character. In the field of Spanish American poetry, for instance, it must be admitted in all conscience that the number of poets is enormous and the name of the poetasters is Legion. If a sympathetic critic like the great Menéndez y Pelayo could admit that at times "the tares smother the wheat", the layman may well feel baffled.

Happily, this problem has been successfully and delightfully solved, at least as regards the productions of the last few decades, by the work under review. Dr. Craig has given us some of the best-known poems of twenty of the representatives of the modernist movement and its reaction, including such names as José Asunción Silva, Rubén Darío, Amado Nervo, Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, Leopoldo Lugones, José Santos Chocano, Gabriela Mistral. The book has one unique and charming feature which enormously enhances its value, even for those familiar with Spanish. Opposite the Spanish originals of the poems appear English translations by the editor. The reviewer disclaims any special knowledge of poetry but it is evident that the translations are at all times adequate and are not infrequently distinguished. To a remarkable degree, the translator has carried over the elusive and haunting charm of many of the original poems and has shown himself to be a poet of no mean order.

Dr. Craig has produced more than a mere anthology. A long critical introduction makes clear the significance of the whole modernist movement with its developments and ramifications. Parnassians, symbolists, realists, impressionists, and creationists are all assigned to their proper niches. It is perhaps the best presentation of the subject that has yet appeared in English and one of the most satisfactory in any language. Part three of the work consists of a commentary in which the careers and productions of the individ-

ual poets are subjected to a careful analysis. This portion of the book, like the introduction, embodies the results of long and painstaking study. Finally, Dr. Craig has supplied a useful bibliography, not only of the writings of the poets themselves, but also of the works dealing with the modernist movement from the historical and critical point of view.

The make-up of the book is all that could be desired by the most exigent of amateurs. In the matter of printing, format, and general arrangement it is a credit to the University of California Press. This is a book, in fine, which lovers of things Hispanic will wish, not merely to consult in public libraries, but also to add to their private collections.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

The Geology of Puerto Rico. By HOWARD A. MEYERHOFF. [Monographs of the University of Puerto Rico. Series B, No. 1.] Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1933. \$1.50.)

The Geology of Puerto Rico, by Howard A. Meyerhoff, visiting professor at the University of Puerto Rico in 1931-1932, inaugurates Series B of the "University of Puerto Rico Monographs", which will be devoted to investigations in the field of science and natural history. The work under review, revealing the diversity of the geological processes that have slowly shaped the island, pictures Puerto Rico as part of a volcanic chain with individual volcanoes once rising a mile or more above sea-level, and invites comparisons with the modern islands of the Lesser Antilles. This eruptive stage of Puerto Rico's history ended with mountain-making, which gave the interior the structure it has today. Although the latter part of the island's geological life has been more temperate, there have been narrow escapes from complete submergence followed by a restlessness that even at the present time finds expression in earthquakes.

The volume is divided into four main parts, the first of which shows the island in relation to the other land elements surrounding the Caribbean and sketches the geologic antiquity of the Greater Antilles. The second traces the history and gradual evolution of modern Puerto Rico, which appears to have been physically connected with Santo Domingo and the Virgin Islands until comparatively re-

cent time. The third section describes rocks, soils, and minerals; and the fourth supplies convincing evidence that geologic forces are still vigorously—if somewhat mysteriously—at work.

Dr. Meyerhoff's monograph is based fundamentally upon two decades of geologic work conducted by the New York Academy of Sciences and aided by the Insular Government, a work with which he has been associated for nearly ten years. A simple and attractive style, a glossary for the relatively small number of technical terms, a colored geological map, supplementary maps, and numerous diagrams and photographs add to the practical value of the book, and to its interest for the average reader.

"In recent years the attention of geologists has been drawn increasingly to the Caribbean region", says Dr. Meyerhoff in the Preface.

Situated between the two continents of the Western Hemisphere, it constitutes a mediterranean with many interesting and some surprising analogies with the western Mediterranean basin of Europe. It lies within one of the two active earthquake and volcanic zones that girdle the earth; in fact, the two belts intersect in Central America, which is in consequence an area of intense geologic activity, with problems of absorbing interest to the dynamic and structural geologist and to the vulcanologist. These aspects of geology are in themselves of fundamental scientific importance, and it is possible that the region will yield data concerning the operations of internal earth forces that will permit the formulation of basic principles and compel the revision and refinement of current working hypotheses.

The central location of the Caribbean lands, between North and South America, Dr. Meyerhoff declares, forms the basis of a hope that their rocks will supply the means of correlating geologic events from one continent to the other; as indeed has already proved true to some extent. Since Central America provided the only direct marine connection between the Atlantic and Pacific regions of North America during the latter part of geologic time, correlation between the east and the west leans heavily upon a knowledge of Caribbean geology; although so far, unfortunately, the ancient geologic history of the Caribbean region, and particularly of the Antillean islands, is all too vaguely known.

Dr. Meyerhoff divides the Caribbean region as a whole into four provinces: Central America, the Caribbean border of South America, the Lesser Antilles, and the Greater Antilles. "Each of these divi-

sions possesses a geologic and physiographic unity that contrasts with the rather loose ties which bind them together", he says;

and a geologic description of any one of the four provinces would not apply to the other three. On the other hand, a typical area chosen from any one of them will reveal the fundamental characteristic of the entire province; and in the following study Puerto Rico will be seen to possess the diagnostic features of all the Greater Antillean islands. From this point of view an analysis of Puerto Rico's physical features and geologic development assumes a broader significance than a case history of an isolated island. Its development may reflect to a very slight extent the contemporaneous evolution of the nearby Lesser Antilles and of the more remote Central American and northern South American Provinces; but its geology presents a cross-section of Greater Antillean history. . . .

MUNA LEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

History of the Pacific Coast. By JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY. (Los Angeles: Privately published by the author, 1933. Pp. 429.)

This book treats of the Pacific coast of North America, but omits that of Central and South America, which might well be included in a comprehensive *History of the Pacific Coast*. The author declares that it is his aim "to treat the development of the coast as one great step in the larger process of European expansion". Were not Central and South America also influenced by the process of European expansion?

The work is in the nature of a text book with lists for collateral reading at the end of each chapter. The works cited are practically all in English and there is no bibliography. The author mentions other material consulted, which has not been cited. A bibliography including such material would have been a welcome addition to the book.

The following subjects are treated in the book: The Indians of Mexico, The Indians of the Southwest and California, The Indians of the Northwest, The First Spaniards in America, Spanish Exploration (1521-1543), Sea Approaches to California, Two Centuries of Frontier Advance, The Occupation of Alta California, The Critical Seventies, Romantic California, Russian America, International Rivalry in the North Pacific, The Overland Advance of the Fur Men, McLoughlin of Old Oregon, American Migration to Oregon, The First Americans in California, The Acquisition of California, Cali-

fornia Gold, Early Statehood Problems in California, The Inter-Mountain Basin, The American Northwest since 1846, British Columbia, American Alaska, and the Transformation of the West. The recent history of the North American Pacific Coast is rather brief and sketchy. There is nothing particularly new in the material used to describe the Spanish influence on the Pacific Coast. The whole book is a synthesis of material already employed by individual and well-known writers.

The book contains illustrations and seven maps, which help to make it more interesting and useful. The maps show the Indian Cultural Areas of the Pacific, The Advance of Spanish Control, Sea and Land Approaches to the North Pacific, Overland Trails, and the Pacific Coast extending from Central America to Alaska. There is an index, which should be more complete.

The work is nicely printed and the style is good. The attention of the reader is held and interest aroused throughout the reading of the book. The quotations are well selected for their interest and importance. The book should be very useful as a text for North American Pacific Coast History.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la Colonización Española (Datos para su Historia). With an introduction by DAVID RUBIO, O. S. A. (Madrid: Imprenta, Juan Bravo, 3, 1933. Pp. 258. 10 ptas.)

The historians who have oftenest done justice to Spain's work in the new world, says Professor Rubio, have been and still are foreigners, Europeans and North and South Americans. On the other hand, those that have injected most error into that epic have been and are Spaniards. But the partisan approach is obsolescent and nothing counts now but what is done "con el dato en la mano y el documento al canto". A principal feature of colonial history in which excellent work is going on is the education of the Indian by the early missionaries, a huge labor, never equaled by later teachers. To tell of even one man's work, of Fray Pedro de Gante, who founded the first American school of industries, would make a thick book. The work of Bishop Zumárraga, of—but the list is long in Mexico alone;

in Michoacán, the first new deal was started by Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, who distributed the arts and industries by town or tribe, cotton fabrics here, copper workers there, and so on through all the country's activities, with remarkable success and good will. In the field of philology, too, and in ethnology, "una simple bibliografía sería enorme", says our author. And let us not forget the press, which began to function in 1536, in Mexico, turning out catechisms, manuals of medicine, navigation, military tactics. Besides, some of the best things written in America were printed in Spain, such as the priceless memoirs of Bernal Díaz del Castillo. These are a few of the points brought out in Professor Rubio's introduction, to show the vast proportions of the history of education in America, to which he now contributes data concerning San Marcos de Lima.

This university's history begins in 1550 at Valladolid, Spain, when Peru's first Dominican Provincial, Fray Tomás de San Martín, laid before Carlos V. and Doña Juana his "Proyecto de un Estudio General" modeled upon the University of Salamanca. The emperor and his mother heartily approved, the *cédula real* was signed in 1551, and only two years later it arrived at Lima, where for lack of funds it lay inactive until 1571, when it began to revive; in 1576, a fund of about twenty thousand pesos was secured and in 1577 a faculty of fifteen was formed—professors of grammar, Indian languages (very necessary to propagating the faith), philosophy, theology, law, canons, and medicine. Twentieth-century professors will applaud the distribution of the fund, practically all of which went to salaries. But the fund was unstable, being income from *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*; and when the Indians died off the fund died, too. But Felipe III. granted royal aid, so scanty, however, that the faculty dwindled and half starved. Local pride made small contributions, and somehow the university not only survived but grew, adding mathematics, anatomy, and other subjects in due course.

And as time went on other universities were established: in Bogotá, 1573; Córdoba del Tucumán, 1613; La Plata, 1623; Guatemala, 1675; Cuzco, 1692; Caracas, 1721; Santiago de Chile, 1728; Habana, 1782; Quito, 1791. But before these, which were of governmental origin, there were religious foundations in Hispaniola, Mexico, Guatemala, Bogotá, and elsewhere. These accepted, while the royal foundations rejected, Indians and poor whites, whose exclusion was not a

purely Spanish idea, being equally French. Democracy of learning was confined to religious institutions. But both types were active and education spread vigorously throughout the new world. It was an education in established doctrines; experimental science was little heard of; all was medieval. Professor Rubio is not sure that modern methods are an improvement. "Today," he says, "we have science but not philosophy." Our spiritual anarchy is altogether owing to the lack of "una metafísica eterna" replaced in the eighteenth century by a series of "creaciones subjetivas sin consistencia ni trascendencia." Until science and philosophy are reconciled we shall remain in our present plight; because of our disdain of the eternal values most historians of early America write diatribes, not history; they lament what they call "la larga noche de horrores y de sombras espesas bajo las cuales gimió la América inocente". Fortunately, though, philosophy has raised its head in the last generation, and the eternal values, the *Philosophia perennis*, is regaining lost ground. Science treats it more cautiously now; scholasticism, medievalism in general, is not treated so cavalierly as in the last century. And the same caution is more and more applied to the phenomena of Spanish colonization. It is discovered that there were Americans fully as progressive as the best Europeans; in the late eighteenth century American science was as up to date as Europe's. Drs. Peralta and Zapata in Peru, Dr. Sigüenza in Mexico, Dr. Espejo in Ecuador—our author gives a long list of brilliant scholars and their achievements that will astonish those who have thought the advancement of learning was confined to Europe. A party to that advancement was the University of San Marcos, whose rise, decadence, and recovery, its great men, its regulations, are briefly reviewed in twenty pages; the remainder of the book is occupied by literal reprints of the *Constituciones* and *Ordenanzas* from 1551 to the present. This is a real contribution to the study of education in America.

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG.

University of California
at Los Angeles.

True Relation of the Hardships suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto & certain Portuguese Gentlemen during the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas. Translated and edited by JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. 2 vols. I. Facsimile of the original edition of 1557; II. Annotated translation. (DeLand: The Florida State Historical Society, 1932-1933. Pp. 22, fols. clxxx [5 ll.]; pp. XXVII, 487, [5 ll.]. Illus. and maps. Index. \$50.00 to members of the Society; \$75.00 to non-members.)

These two superb volumes printed by the Yale University Press and recently added to the distinguished company of the publications of The Florida State Historical Society are remarkable not only as beautiful examples of the printer's art, but for the careful scholarship of Dr. Robertson. His copious and exhaustive commentary on the text summarizes three generations of research and clarifies its many obscurities, while historians will be particularly grateful for the facsimile of the original Portuguese edition of 1557.

The only question that the reviewer can pertinently ask concerns the translation. Is it justifiable to publish another translation of the Gentleman of Elvas when we already have those of Hakluyt and Buckingham Smith? And has Dr. Robertson succeeded in making a "new and more exact translation" sufficiently more exact to supplant the two mentioned? The answer will depend upon one's particular theory of translation. That of the reviewer is one which was expounded to him by the Mexican novelist, Mariano Azuela. "A just translation," he said, "is that in which the thought and spirit of the original are most accurately transmitted to the reader"—a definition in which every one will concur. But how is this to be accomplished? Dr. Robertson's method is to preserve the style of the original by reproducing in English as closely as possible, word for word, the Portuguese text. Certainly the method has its advantages and this meticulous reproduction has corrected many earlier inaccuracies. But in his scholar's reverence for the integrity of the original text, Dr. Robertson has not always allowed himself sufficient elbow room for the rendering of the Portuguese idiom into our unsympathetic Anglo-Saxon. It is its freedom from such a preoccupation that makes the old Hakluyt translation, with all its inaccuracies, the better reading

and (in the reviewer's mind, at least) closer to the flavor of the original. Let me illustrate.

On page 18 of his translation Dr. Robertson has the houses in Cuba covered with "hay", which, indeed, is exactly what the Portuguese *fenó* means, but the picture is made more vivid by Hakluyt's "thatch".

Page 30: Dr. Robertson translates *porque se namorou da filha do conde da Gomeira* by "because he had made love to the daughter of the conde of Gomerá". Hakluyt is more correct with "had fallen in love with. . . ."

Page 41: ". . . Going after it [the wolf], he threw a club which struck the wolf. . . ." The Portuguese *vara* might mean a club, but it was probably a pointed stick or javelin. Hakluyt renders it by "darte".

Page 50: Porcallo had had a quarrel with Soto and "he asked him courteously to leave and took his departure from him". The Portuguese is ". . . *lhe pediu licença e se despidio delle*", which Hakluyt translates by ". . . he asked him to leave and departed from him".

Page 86: "That there was no other whom Juan Ortiz understood availed in preventing him from being thrown to the dogs". In this case Hakluyt is not much clearer: "It saved him that he was not cast to the dogges, that there was never another whom Juan Ortiz did understand". The English should be as straight as the Portuguese: ". . . *valeo lhe pera nã ser lançado aos caes nã aver otro a quẽ João Ortiz entendesse*". I suggest: "He was saved from being thrown to the dogs by there being none other whom Juan Ortiz could understand".

Page 100: "In one town they performed a service for him, presenting him with seven hundred of them [hens]. . . ." *Servicio* here and in several other places could better be rendered by "tribute". Hakluyt has it "present".

Page 133: Soto and his men are being attacked by the Indians. The Portuguese text goes: ". . . *Ao tpo q̃ começou a volta*", which is translated by: "At the time when the return began". "Return" seems to destroy the meaning of the passage. *Volta* also means a "fight", or, as Hakluyt has it, "broile".

Page 296: The Spaniards, having built their boats and begun

their journey homeward, find themselves beset by thirst. They put into a creek to get water. "There they filled their casks and, after the procession was ended, they embarked. . . ." Hakluyt also translates *procissam* by "procession", which presents an image to the reader which I suspect is far from accurate. *Procissam* might, indeed, be a "procession", but here it is clearly a "going forth". I suggest "landing party".

After reading over the above, I see that I have fallen into the common error of reviewers of giving a disproportionate emphasis to the minutiae of criticism which so often degenerates into fault-finding. Such is far from my purpose. The book is a monument of patient and thorough scholarship and so excellent that one would wish it perfect.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

University of California.

The Temple of the Warriors. By EARL H. MORRIS. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1931. Pp. xxi, 251. Illus. \$5.00.)

Digging in Yucatan. By ANN AXTELL MORRIS. (New York: Junior Library Guild. Pp. xvii, 279.)

These volumes, written respectively by husband and wife, complement each other. The first bears as subtitle "The adventure of exploring and restoring a masterpiece of native American architecture in the ruined Maya city of Chichen Itzá, Yucatan". The author's first archaeological interest was in the United States southwest; later he worked in Guatemala, and between 1924 and 1928, on request by Sylvanus G. Morley, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, he directed the work of the excavation and repairing of the Temple of the Warriors—the achievement of which is one of the greatest triumphs of American archaeology in Yucatan, and deserves to rank up fairly close with Mr. Thompson's exploration of the City of the Sacred Well.

In nineteen chapters written for the layman, Mr. Morris describes the work of excavating and the repairing of the old structure. The result is a vivid picture of what was done. Certainly, no account written for the public of work actually performed in the great project of the Temple of the Warriors, has a greater interest than this one—taken together with the work by Mrs. Morris. In the work

in Yucatan, Mr. Morris found his experience gained among the Pueblo villages of considerable use in the solving of certain problems. Of great interest is the description of the finding of the stones of a mural painting and the final solution of their position—this being accomplished by Mrs. Morris and Jean Charlot, the artists of the expedition. Of interest as keen is the story told in Chapter XVII of the finding and restoration of an exquisite turquoise mosaic discovered in an altar. The work of restoration was entrusted to a Japanese who was brought especially from New York for that purpose—work so delicate that one trembles in the reading of it lest somehow he might cause some accident to the wonderful relic of bygone art. Surely the reading of such things will convince even the most skeptical that archaeology is the handmaid of history. Mr. Morris's book is an epic of accomplishment.

The second volume should be read after the first, into which it dovetails perfectly. Mrs. Morris gives many interesting and valuable sidelights into early Mayan history (indulging at times, and pardonably so, in fancy of the early times). In Chapter XIII, she tells how she and Charlot placed together the painted stone frieze, and in Chapter XVII, "Altar Treasure", she describes the finding of the precious turquoise mosaic. This volume, as well as the preceding, shows how the arduous work of exploration and excavation was carried forward, the great care that was exercised, and the joy in the work. There is nothing pedantic about the book, which is written with freshness and vivacity.

Both volumes are generously illustrated with pictures that add to the narratives, and both give an excellent idea of what American archaeologists are doing in the ancient centers of Indian civilization.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Santiago de Los Caballeros de Guatemala. By DOROTHY H. POPENOE. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv [4], 74. Illus. \$1.50.)

This is a lovely little book, both in subject matter and in format. Its author, who died on December 30, 1932, was born in England in 1899. A remarkable personality, she had made herself an authority on several genera of African grasses at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew before 1923, the year she came to the United States, on

invitation to engage in work in the office of Foreign Plant Production. That same year she married Dr. Wilson Popenoe. In 1925, the couple went to Tela, Honduras, where Mrs. Popenoe, always alert, studied and mastered Spanish, worked among the Indians, and described and mapped the prehistoric site of Tenampua. During parts of the years 1928-1932 she made considerable excavations in the old Maya burial ground at La Playa de los Muertos, the report on which is to be published by the Peabody Museum. In 1930 she and her husband moved to Guatemala City where she found a good library. She died suddenly just before they were about to return to Tela.

This little book is the result of her stay in Guatemala City. In her short foreword, the author notes that it is based on letters written by Alvarado to Cortés, the annals of the Cakchiquels, and the works of Remesal, Juarros, Fuentes y Guzmán, Gage, and various modern authors. The narrative is divided into four parts: The Conquest; Almolonga, the story of the first capital; Panchoy and the golden era; and "Dies irae, dies illa. . . ." She herself illustrated the text. Her narrative is delightfully graphic, lucid, and interesting. In her first chapter she quotes the translation made by Brinton of the account of the Spanish invasion as preserved by the Cakchiquels, and makes various other quotations in the other chapters. In the second chapter is related the founding of the City of Santiago in 1527 and its history until 1541 when it was destroyed by flood and earthquake. Chapter III narrates the removal in 1543 to another site one and one-half leagues from the old city—a site now known as Guatemala Antigua or simply Antigua. In this chapter she has described the old ruins and some of the old streets of Antigua, this chapter being the principal one of the book. Her descriptions are clear and are aided by a plan of the old city. The last chapter tells of the destruction of Antigua by an earthquake on July 29, 1773, and the forced removal to Valle de las Vacas, where the present Guatemala City was founded. "Meanwhile," she says, "Antigua lies at rest in the shadow of the volcanoes".

The reviewer has seen only one error, namely, in her description of the old Jesuit convent and college, in which she speaks of the Jesuits as "friars". The order is a secular order and its members are rightly called "religious". Her sudden death has deprived us of much other work which she would undoubtedly have done.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

DR. ERNESTO QUESADA

The intellectual life of Hispanic America was definitely made the poorer through the death at Spiez, on the edge of Lake Thun, in Switzerland, on February 6th, of the eminent Argentine historian, sociologist, and jurisconsult, Ernesto Quesada. In this brief notice only a few of the multifarious activities of this distinguished scholar can be mentioned. Dr. Quesada was born on June 1, 1858. He was the son of the diplomat and writer Vicente Gaspar Quesada (1830-1913). Though he was trained in law, his vigorous and powerful mind early led him to explore the domains of history, literature, sociology, and diplomacy, in all of which he became thoroughly at home. In fact, his tastes and interests were ever catholic in scope. He made several excursions into the teaching field. For a time he was a member of the Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences at the University of La Plata. In 1916, he served as visiting professor of Hispanic American History and Economics at Harvard University, succeeding Dr. Oliveira Lima in that post.

In politics Dr. Quesada was a strong nationalist. In the boundary controversy between Argentina and Chile, which came to a head in 1895, he wrote a series of vigorous articles defending Argentina's position. These were subsequently issued in book form under the title of *La Política Chilena en el Plata* (1895). Dr. Quesada early became a votary of German scholarship and in 1910 appeared *La Enseñanza de la Historia en las Universidades Alemanas*, one of the best treatises on the subject that has ever appeared in any language. As the great war began to cast its shadow over the new world, Dr. Quesada broke with the majority of the Argentine intellectuals by espousing with considerable vehemence the cause of the Central Powers. His book, *El Peligro Alemán en Sud América* (1915) characterized the German designs on the southern continent as figments of the imagination. In post-war days he fell under the influence of Spengler, whose historical and philosophical views he did much to popularize in Argentina, especially through his two works *Una nueva*

Doctrina sociológica; la Teoría relativista spengleriana (1921), and *Kant y Spengler* (1924). During the last years of his life he spent much time in Germany and was especially interested in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut. His great library, one of the finest private collections in South America, he formally presented to the University of Berlin. Among his most recent publications was a work in German, *Die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Latein-Amerika und den Vereinigten Staaten* (1931).

A complete bibliography of Dr. Quesada's work would occupy many pages. Only those titles of special interest to the student of Hispanic American history need be noted here. They include: *El "Criollismo" en la Literatura Argentina* (1902), *El nuevo Panamericanismo y el Congreso científico de Washington* (1916), *El Desarrollo social Hispano-Americano* (1917), *La Figura histórica de Alberdi* (1919), *Urquiza y la Integridad nacional* (1923), *El Paraguay en la Política Brasileño-Rioplatense* (1923), *Francisco P. Moreno* (1923), *La Época de Rosas* (1923), and (perhaps his most important historical work), *El Ciclo cultural de la Colonia* (1925).

The writer of this note, like other visitors to Buenos Aires who had the rare privilege of Dr. Quesada's friendship, will always remember with gratitude the generous and kindly hospitality of this great Argentine scholar. An inspection of his magnificent library, which was at the same time a museum of rare artistic and archaeological treasures, was an event never to be forgotten.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

THE NIETO INSCRIPTION ON EL MORRO

Among the old Spanish inscriptions on El Morro, or Inscription Rock, in New Mexico, is one in verse. It carries the name of Governor Nieto and the date [1]629, written in words.

In the summer of that year, the new governor, Nieto, convoyed the new custodian, Perea, with some half-dozen other Franciscans, from Santa Fe to Zuñi to found a mission. The distance was only about two hundred miles and could have been covered in about ten days on horseback or fifteen days on foot, without impedimenta. But with ten ox-carts full of paraphernalia and supplies it was a different

matter, much of the way being through wild desert and mountain country, never yet opened up to wheel traffic of any kind.

So, though the expedition was on its way by the last week in June, it was apparently not till the first week in August that it halted at the rock. The "impossible" obstacles to transportation had now, however, been "subjected"; and Zuñi was within another two or three days' easy march.

The achievement was recorded in eight lines of iambic verse, neatly cut into the north face of the rock. There they can still be read quite plainly, except about half a dozen words, which, during three centuries of exposure to wind and weather, have been obliterated. The inscription is as follows:

Aqui rnador
 Don Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto
 Que la ynpucible tiene ya sujeto
 Su Braço yndubitable y su Balor
 Con los Carros del Rei nuestro Señor
 Cosa que solo el Puso en este Efecto
 De Abgosto . . . Seiscientos Beinte y Nueve
 Quesbyen A çuni Pase y la Fe lleve.

It is not difficult to fill in the gaps so as to complete the sense and the meter, and the whole thing is clear. Nieto is here at the rock, since his indispensable prowess and valor have now conquered the impossible with the ox-carts of the king; a business which he only brought to success by August of 1629, "that he well may to Zuñi pass on and the faith [thither] carry".

The general sense of the first seven lines has always been obvious, but the eighth line has been persistently bungled. Its two verbs have been read in the past indicative instead of the present subjunctive, as if written "pasé" and "llevé", which they certainly are *not*.

This in turn has involved an abrupt change to the first person, since the third person past indicative would obviously require "pasó" and "llevó". The resulting translation—"That I passed to Zuñi and carried the faith"—has further called for an introductory interpolation such as "That it may be seen" or "That it may be heard", altogether unwarranted by the original text.

While most of the inscription is regularly spaced, the opening half of the last line is so run together as to present an enigma—"Quesbyen"! The "sbyen", in particular, is very un-Spanish in

appearance; and the "b" encloses an oblique crossline suggesting a submerged "e".

Though the solution of this enigma has apparently been impossible for more than three-quarters of a century, since the El Morro inscriptions were brought to light by Simpson and Kern in 1849, it is surprisingly simple. "Quesbyen" is obviously nothing more than "Que se bien". The "e" of "se" had to be submerged so as not to break the strict iambic rhythm which prevails throughout. The inscription (spelling modernized) then becomes as follows (the lines showing the verse structure, the verse accent being in each case on the last syllable preceding the line):

Aqui/ [llego / el señor/ gobe]r/nador/
 Don Fran/cisco/ Manuel/ de Sil/va Nie/to
 Que lo im/posi/ble tie/ne ya/ suje/to
 Su bra/zo indu/bita/ble y su/ valor/
 Con los/ carros/ del Rey/ nuestro/señor/
 Cosa/ que so/lo el pu/so en es/te efec/to
 De Agos/to [y Mil]/ seis/cien/tos vein/te y nue/ve
 Que s[e] / bien/ a Zu/ñi pa/se y la/ Fe lle/ve.

Thus accented, the verses have only to be read aloud and their perfect rhythm and unbroken continuity are undeniable. The old reading stands condemned on two counts: it destroys the rhythm of the concluding couplet, and it changes the straightforward sequence of the Spanish text into incoherent nonsense.

While the rhyming of the last two lines is of prime importance to the interpretation, it may be noted also that line one rhymes with lines four and five, and that lines two and three are near-rhymed by line six. It seems remarkable that the metrical nature of the inscription should for so many years have been ignored—with such disastrous consequences to its supposed elucidation.

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A NEW INTER-AMERICAN CENTER

President Cloyd H. Marvin has recently announced the establishment of the Center of Inter-American Studies of The George Washington University under Professor A. Curtis Wilgus as director. Because of its situation in the heart of the National Capital, The George Washington University is able to offer certain types of academic work and to promote and foster certain studies which profit especially by the resources of the Federal Government, the Library of Congress, the Pan American Union, the various embassies and legations, and other institutions located in Washington. Particularly do these advantages apply to the work concerning the nations of the Americas. It is intended that this Center shall take advantage of these manifold opportunities not only by offering regularly constituted courses and special lectures, but also by encouraging directed research and scholarly publications in the broad field of inter-American problems. The Center further aims to facilitate the interchange of university students and professors and to promote closer coöperation in historical, bibliographical, scientific, philosophical, artistic, and literary matters. In this way it is hoped to bring about closer academic and cultural relationships with students, scholars, and educational institutions in the other Americas and with students of the United States who wish to obtain a broader understanding of, and a keener insight into, the history, thought, and culture of the Americas. In order the better to accomplish these ends, a Council of specialists living in Washington and its vicinity has been associated with the University Faculty and will from time to time offer lectures in the several fields of interest. This Council will also act as a general advisory body with the duty of formulating the program of action for the Center. Its specific functions are to make recommendations concerning the following matters: courses, projects, lectures, and lecturers; the publication of worthy research results; the exchange of university professors and students; the establishment of fellowships and scholarships; the convocation of scholars, the holding of special conferences, and the arranging and supervising of radio broadcasts; the suggestion of concrete methods for coöperation with existing

agencies having objects similar to those of this Center; the taking of any action necessary to encourage and facilitate all form of beneficial coöperation between scholars in the American states; and the nomination to the proper University authorities of individuals of exceptional merit who should be granted honorary degrees. Besides the members of the Council, scholars in other communities may be asked to serve in an advisory capacity and to assist particularly in directing research in other localities. As requirements arise, further additions to the staff of instruction will be made through Council nominations.

The Council members and staff of instruction of the Center include Miss Heloise Brainard, of the Pan American Union; James Christopher Corliss and Henry Grattan Doyle, both of The George Washington University; George Howland Cox, Washington representative of the *Christian Science Monitor*; E. Gil Borges, assistant director of The Pan American Union; C. K. Jones, of the Library of Congress; Constantine E. McGuire, member of financial high commission; William R. Manning, of the State Department; James A. Robertson, managing editor of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; Leo S. Rowe, Director general of the Pan American Union; James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and A. Curtis Wilgus, of The George Washington University.

The Center of Inter-American Studies of The George Washington University announces the holding of the third annual Seminar Conference on Hispanic American Affairs. The special attention which has been given to this important field under the School of Government will be continued. The emphasis this year is placed upon the A B C Powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The Seminar Conference, as in the past, offers to its members an exceptional opportunity to come into intimate contact with leading authorities in the field. The course has been so arranged that mutual views and opinions may be exchanged with the greatest facility and answers to perplexing questions found.

The lectures in the Seminar Conference this summer are given by authorities in their respective fields. Professor J. Fred Rippy, of Duke University, a leading authority in the field of Hispanic American History, lectures on Argentina; Professor Isaac J. Cox,

of Northwestern University, who is the leading authority in the United States on Chile, lectures on that country; and Professor Percy A. Martin, of Stanford University, who is the chief authority on Brazil in the United States, lectures on that country.

The Conference meets two hours daily, five times a week, for six weeks. The first portion of each period is devoted to lectures and the last portion to informal discussions. Each student is provided with reading references in the nature of detailed bibliographies covering the subject of each lecture. During the course each student undertakes a special research project, and at the conclusion of the conference a comprehensive examination is held. Each student satisfactorily passing the course is given four academic credits in either History or Political Science.

The course is in charge of Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, Associate Professor of Hispanic American History and Director of the Center of Inter-American Studies in The George Washington University.

Professor Clarence H. Haring, of Harvard University, delivered a series of historical lectures in Spanish at Seville during the Spring Quarter of this year. These were given in the quarters of the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América, which was formerly a convent. Dr. Haring also met a group for discussion twice a week. His immediate predecessor in these lectures was Sr. Rómulo Carbía, of Argentina. Sr. Jorge Basadre, of Peru also gave a course at the "Centro". With the opening of the Fall Term at Harvard, Professor Haring will assume the mastership of Dunster House, one of the new residential colleges into which Harvard is now divided. He is still to retain the chairmanship of the department of history.

William Sanders is writing a thesis on "The International Rivers of South America: A historical and juridical Study of the Régime of inland Navigation on the Amazon, the Plata System, and the Orinoco", as a partial requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at The George Washington University. The study is timely and should bring out some interesting facts.

At the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Professor Kathryn T. Abbey, of the Florida State College for Women, read a paper on "Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi after the Willing Raid".

Sr. D. Enrique Navarro M., Colombian Consul in Boston, delivered an address at the annual meeting of the Castilian Club in Boston recently on "Bolívar on Mount Aventine". In this, he called attention to Bolívar at Rome (where a monument to the Liberator has been erected recently), to his refusal to admit defeat, to his final triumph, to his consequent bitterness, to his many-sidedness, to his generosity, and to his abiding fame.

The Pan American Union has recently published in mimeograph form the "Activities of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan American Union for 1932-1933". The report says something of the work of the division in the promotion of the interchange of professors and students, and various other forms of exchange; its educational work; its informational files; its aid to students and travelers; and the promotion of inter-American friendship through the schools; and its bibliographical work.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

RECENT CRITICISM OF THE CONSULATE OF THE SEA

If we are to regard commercial law as one of the "bonds of union" between Spain and Hispanic America,¹ our attention may properly be directed to facts concerning the *Book of the Sea Consulate*, the medieval pandect of maritime mercantile law whose pre-eminence was virtually unchallenged until the appearance of the *Ordenanzas de Bilbao* in 1737. One of the fruits of nationalism in Catalonia—where the language of the *Llibre del Consolat de mar* is still spoken—is the critical historical study of the Sea Consulate² by Catalans who desire to rehabilitate this venerable code as a distinct product of Catalan initiative. The results augment, and to some extent modify, our knowledge of this law, heretofore based largely on the research of Pardessus and Twiss in the nineteenth century.³

In place of the two manuscripts known to the latter writers, seven practically complete codices are extant today.⁴ The manuscripts designated A and G are undoubtedly the oldest known texts, although it has not been definitely established that either was written before 1400.⁵

¹ F. Álvarez del Manzano, "La ley mercantil como lazo de unión entre España y las repúblicas hispano-americanas", *Discursos*, Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas, IX. (Madrid, 1912), 385-434; C. S. Walton, *Leyes comerciales y marítimas de la América latina*, I. (Washington, 1907), 5-7.

² It will be recalled that the Spanish gild merchant, in whose judicial proceedings the Book of the Sea Consulate was used, was likewise called the Sea Consulate (*consulado de mar*). This is the institution erected in Lima and Mexico at the end of the sixteenth century and in Guatemala, Caracas, Buenos Aires, Havana, and Cartagena in the eighteenth century.

³ J. M. Pardessus, *Collection de lois maritimes antérieures au xviii^e siècle* (6 vols., Paris, 1828-1845); Sir Travers Twiss, *The Black Book of the Admiralty* (4 vols., London, 1871-1876).

⁴ Codex A, Archivo histórico regional, Palma, Mallorca; Codex B, Archivo municipal, Valencia; Codex C, Reial Universita di Cagliari, Sardinia; Codex D, Bibliothèque National, Paris, MS. Espagnol no. 124; Codex E, *ibid.*, MS. Espagnol no. 56; Codex F, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona; Codex G, private library, Sr. Font de Rubinat, Barcelona.

⁵ Codex A is found in the *Llibre de Sant Pere* which takes its name from Pere de Sant Pere, named notary of Mallorca in 1398. The position of the Sea Con-

It is certain beyond reasonable doubt that Codex B, a copy made at the behest of the city council of Valencia, was begun before 1390 and finished in 1409.⁶ The other manuscripts are copies of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

While a collation of the seven manuscripts has not been made, a superficial appraisal of textual discrepancies suggests a dependence of the earliest extant codices upon one or more manuscripts now lost. Neither has the exact dependence of printed editions⁷ on manuscript sources been traced.

Since the Sea Consulate at the end of the fourteenth century was known as the Book of the Customs of the Sea,⁸ extraneous material both in manuscripts and printed editions must be distinguished from the fundamental customs of the sea, the scope of which is in most cases indicated by the text.⁹ Furthermore, as pointed out by Catalan scholars, within the Sea Consulate thus delimited are constituent elements of different age and provenance; so that both the problem

sulate in this MS. (fols. 35-70) may indicate that it was copied soon after 1398. Internal evidence indicates that Codex G is later than 1373, but it may not have been completed before 1401 (G. M. de Brocá, "Un manuscrit del 'Libro del Consolat de mar'", *Revista jurídica de Cataluña*, XXII. [Barcelona, 1916], 567-574.

⁶ Archivo municipal, Valencia, *Manual de Consells*, 1388-1392, fol. 96; Bibliothèque National, Paris, MS. Espagnol no. 147, fol. 184; F. Almarache Vasquez, "Genesis y desenvolvimiento de la marina foral valenciana" (an unpublished manuscript).

⁷ The Sea Consulate was first printed in Barcelona in 1484 or 1485 (C. Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*, I. [Leipzig, 1903], 734 and II. [Leipzig, 1917], 45. A copy of this edition is in the British Museum and another in a private library in Mallorca (*Anuari*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Any V [Barcelona, 1913-1914], 777-779. Not less than thirty editions and reimpressions, including translations in Spanish, Italian, and French, were published in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries.

⁸ On January 14, 1390 the city council of Valencia voted, "que l libre de les costumes de mar començat en temps passat sia acabat a cost o despeses de la dita Ciutat e dat e liurat a la cort del Consolat daquela" (Archivo municipal, Valencia, *Manual de Consells*, 1388-92, fol. 96). This refers to the manuscript now known as Codex B of the Sea Consulate.

⁹ Thus, chapter 46 has the rubric, "Aci comencen les bones costumes de la mar", and an editorial comment at the end of chapter 334 reads, "Aci acaba lo libre vulgarment appellat de consolat". Chapter references in this note are to the edition of E. Moliné y Brasés, *Les costums marítimes de Barcelona universalment conegudes per Llibre del Consolat de Mar* (Barcelona, 1914), which is based upon the edition of 1502 and collated with Codex A.

of the origin and antiquity of the Sea Consulate can have meaning only with respect to its integral parts.¹⁰

According to Sr. Valls, the original nucleus of the Sea Consulate is distributed among the chapters numbered 46 to 297, comprising about two-thirds of the text of these 252 chapters.¹¹ The nucleus itself may be divided into three segments of unequal length, textual and structural criticism of which leads to the conclusion that each is of separate provenance. Thus, the first—and oldest—part of the nucleus consists of about one hundred articles, similar in content and diction, which succinctly state the fundamental rules of the sea. The second segment is detected by a common introductory phrase, “*encara és tengut*”, which suggests that the articles constituting this part of the nucleus are translations of maritime ordinances originally written in Latin with the common rubric, “*item tenetur*”. The third segment is radically different from the other two sections. The articles comprising it are prolix and casuistic in style, approximating more nearly the form of judicial decisions and commentaries on the law of the sea than a statement of that law.¹² In addition to the nucleus, chapters 46 to 297 contain an appreciable body of notes, interpolations, glosses, and comments, which probably were incorporated into the text of the Sea Consulate subsequent to their addition to early manuscripts as marginal notes.¹³ The ordinances on the armed marine (chapters 298-334) were later additions to the Sea Consulate, undoubtedly aggregated to a body of law primarily intended for mercantile maritime affairs because of the close relationship between the merchant marine and the armed marine in the period in which this law developed.¹⁴

¹⁰ Twiss (*op. cit.*, II. lxx) observed that the chapters of the Sea Consulate “have the appearance of having been reduced into writing at different times”, and that “the later chapters are amplifications, and in some cases amendments, of the earlier chapters”. Antonio de Capmany in his *Código de las costumbres marítimas de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1791), pp. xli-xlvi, appears to have been the first to recognize that the Sea Consulate in its usual form was not a single unified compilation of maritime law.

¹¹ F. Valls y Taberner, *Consolat de mar*, I. (Núclis originaris), Barcelona, 1930. The entire nucleus, recast in a more logical form than found in any previous edition of the Sea Consulate, is contained in this volume.

¹² Valls, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴ The so-called promulgations of the Sea Consulate (following chapter 334) is a spurious document, as shown by Capmany (*op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xx) and Pardessus

The belief that the first forty-two chapters¹⁵ of the Sea Consulate constitute particular rules of procedure for the court of the gild merchant in Valencia is reinforced by the recent discovery of similar rules for the consular court in Barcelona. The judicial order, dealing with the election of consular judges and procedure, presumably precedes the text of the law of the Sea Consulate solely for convenience. The gild of Valencia was the oldest consular tribunal in Spain and its judicial order was followed in other courts during the fourteenth century.¹⁶ The Valencian judicial order probably dates from the early fourteenth century, or much later than the nucleus of the Sea Consulate which it cites. The judicial order of Barcelona appears to have been drawn up in the early fifteenth century.¹⁷

Most writers since the time of Capmany have admitted a strong presumption in favor of the Catalan origin of the Sea Consulate, and Barcelona has usually been accepted as the paternal city because of its preëminence in trade among the Catalan-speaking possessions of the crown of Aragon. All the known manuscripts are in Catalan, as are also the two incunabula; and three sixteenth-century Catalan editions were published in Barcelona before the appearance of an (*op. cit.*, VI. 492-493). Most editions of the Sea Consulate contain supplementary material, such as the maritime insurance laws of Barcelona, which is not to be regarded as an integral part of the code. This process of accretion is explained by Celelles, the editor of the 1494 edition, as follows: "E per mes adornar es estat deliberat hi fossen aiustats alguns privilegis e ordinacions e altres coses condecents a la materia."

¹⁵ Chapter 43, an oath required of lawyers in Mallorca, is a pragmatic of 1247. Latin and Catalan texts, taken from the manuscript privileges of Mallorca, are reproduced in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, V. (Palma, 1893), 107-108. But this article is not in Codex A, the Mallorcan MS! Following an early editorial error, the edition of Moliné y Brasés has no chapter numbered 44. Chapter 45, which purports to regulate freight rates to Alexandria, is of uncertain origin and significance.

¹⁶ In 1347, a copy of these rules was sent to the consular court in Barcelona from the Sea Consulate of Mallorca with the acknowledgment that the latter tribunal had received them from Valencia upon the establishment of the court in Mallorca in 1343 (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, MS. B^a 192, fol. 7).

¹⁷ It has been edited from two manuscript sources: (1) E. Moliné y Brasés, "L'antich orde judiciari observat en la cort dels cónsols de la mar de Barcelona," *Revista jurídica de Catalunya*, XXIII. (1917), 233-258, and (2) L. Perels, "Orden judicial del Consulado de mar de Barcelona," *ibid.*, XXV. (1919), 289-307.

Italian version in 1519.¹⁸ Furthermore, it is generally conceded that at least the first two segments of the nucleus, as described above, date from the thirteenth century, justifying reference to the Sea Consulate as a thirteenth-century code of maritime law. Parts of these segments are identical with passages in the *Costums de Tortosa*, a code compiled in 1272; but, according to Sr. Valls, it cannot be admitted that the Sea Consulate borrowed from the Customs of Tortosa.¹⁹ There are reasons for believing that the second segment is the work of the Consulate of the Strand of Barcelona, which was organized in 1257.²⁰ The reference to the Custom of the Sea in the charter of the gild of Valencia (1283) should also be accepted, undoubtedly, as evidence of the compilation of the two oldest sections of the nucleus in the thirteenth century.²¹ In fine, a series of painstaking investigations in recent years has virtually established the Sea Consulate as a code of maritime law originating in Barcelona, parts of which were written down between 1257 and 1283.

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¹⁸ A copy of this edition, published in Rome, is in the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana, Florence, according to Vito la Mantia, *Il consolato del mare* (Palermo, 1897).

¹⁹ Valls, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

²⁰ F. Valls y Taberner, "Una antiga ordinació marítima inclosa dintre'l 'Consolat de mar'", *Revista jurídica de Catalunya*, XXXV. (1929), 46-51. The charter of the "Consulatus Ripariae Barchinone" is in the Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona), Registro 9, fol. 7.

²¹ The judges of the consular court were enjoined to settle maritime mercantile disputes, "iuxta consuetudinem maris . . . prout est in Barchinone fieri consuetum" (*Aureum opus* [Valencia, 1515], fol. 33).

NOTES ON RECENT PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER ITEMS

The International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation is perfecting its plans for the publication in French of the works of the most notable writers of Hispanic America. The personnel of the committee, charged with the delicate task of deciding on the works to be published, is as follows: the Swiss scholar, M. Gonzaque de Reynould of Fribourg (chairman); the three French writers MM. Dominique Braga, Georges Le Gentil and Raymond Ronze; the Spanish poet and essayist Sr. Enrique Diéz Canedo; the Cuban writer, Sr. Mariano Brull; the Peruvian writers and critics, Señores Víctor Andrés Belaunde and Francisco García Calderón; the Mexican critic and diplomat, Sr. Alfonso Reyes (at present ambassador to Brazil); and the scholarly Dr. Gonzalo Zaldumbide, recently Ecuadorean minister to Washington. The French and Spanish members of this group have long been interested in Hispanic American affairs; in 1927, for instance, Sr. Diéz Canedo, under the auspices of the Union Iberoamericana, accepted a protracted lecture engagement in Chile.

The committee has just drawn up a tentative program of publication covering the years 1934-1935. In the former year will appear *Facundo* by D. F. Sarmiento, *Dom Casmurro* by the Brazilian novelist, Machado de Assis; and a volume of essays by the Cuban writer, José Martí. In the case of the writings of the last two authors the French translations of M. Francis de Miomandre will be used. Among the selections for 1935 will be *O Mulato*, a work by the Brazilian novelist, Aluizio Azevedo, a collection of essays by the Puerto Rican writer, Eugenio María de Hostos, a volume devoted to Chilean folklore; and finally, a number of dramas of the Uruguayan writer, Florencio Sánchez. Each work will be accompanied by a critical introduction, in which the place of the author in the field of Hispanic American culture will be stressed. It is to be hoped that in the future the committee will accord more attention to the works of historians.

Sr. Rufino Blanco-Fombona, the well known Venezuelan writer and critic, author of a score of books, director of the Editorial América of Madrid and editor of the Biblioteca Ayacucho has recently been

signally honored by the Spanish government through his appointment as Civil Governor of the important province of Navarra. This act was done in pursuance of article 24 of the new Spanish constitution which states that nationals of Hispanic American countries may obtain Spanish citizenship, without losing or modifying their citizenship of origin, through the sole fact of residing in Spain. This appointment holds out interesting possibilities for the future and is a concrete evidence of the belief of the present republican régime in Spain in Hispanic solidarity. Blanco-Fombona has just published a fascinating account of his own life, *Camino de Imperfección, Diario de mi Vida, 1906-1914* (Madrid, Editorial América, 1933). The diary proper extends only to 1914 but in a *Nota Final* the author summarizes his career between this date and the present.

In *El Destino de los Pueblos Ibéricos* (Madrid, Librería Nacional y Extranjera, 1932) the Spanish critic and writer, Juan Orts González, elaborates the theme that the Iberian nations—on both sides of the Atlantic—are about to enter the race of progress as the older countries drop out. The very backwardness with which the Iberian peoples are charged may prove an asset as they have been less involved in the present economic collapse of civilization. Even if one disagrees with the writer's thesis the book will be found to repay careful reading.

The Instituto Hispano-Cubano de América of Seville has made a real contribution to our very scanty knowledge of the private life of Columbus through the publication of *Beatriz Enríquez de Harana y Cristobal Colón, Estudio y Documentos por José de la Torre y del Cerro*. Prólogo por José María Ots Capdequi (Madrid, Compañía Ibero Americana de Publicaciones, 1933). The documents in question were located in Córdoba and deal with the mother of Fernando, the younger, and illegitimate son of the Admiral.

The Spanish novelist, Manuel Ciges Aparicio, has given an uncritical though at times very interesting account of the history of Spain from 1701 to 1931 in his *España bajo la Dinastía de los Borbones* (Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1932).

The well-known publishing firm of Espasa-Calpe (Madrid and Barcelona) has had the happy idea of inaugurating its new series of historical studies, to be called *Vidas extraordinarias*, with the pub-

lication of a translation of a work of the German Hispanist, Dr. Ludwig Pfandl under the title of *Juan de la Loca, su Vida, su Tiempo, su Culpa* (1933). It seems fair to assume that this new series of biographies will eventually include a number of Hispanic Americans.

In October of the present year Spain is to act as host of the Third International Congress of the History of the Sciences (the 1933 meeting took place at Warsaw). It has already been decided that the discussions will have as their general theme the "Scientific Exploration of America and the Far East". That a number of papers of very great interest to students of Hispanic American History will be read is evidenced by the activity of the Grupo Español de la Academia Internacional de Historia de las Ciencias which is sponsoring a course of lectures throughout the year on the subject of "La Ciencia Española en el Siglo XVII". Among the subjects treated are "La Historia Natural del Nuevo Mundo", by Fr. Agustín J. Barreiro, "La Nautica," by Sr. Julio F. Guillén", "El Descubrimiento de Australia", by Sr. Gonsalo de Reparaz (hijo), "Los Historiadores de la segunda Mitad del Siglo", by Professor Antonio Ballesteros, and "Resumen del Curso y Consideraciones generales", by Professor Rafael Altamira. The lectures will presumably appear later in book form. The secretary of the Comisión Organizadora of the Congress is Professor Francisco Vera, Calle de Caracas, 8, Madrid.

L'Express, a new French weekly devoted to Hispanic American affairs, made its début on January 4, 1934. Its director is Señor Eugenio Labarca, the scholarly Chilean consul at Havre. The first number contains an article on the remains of Columbus at Santo Domingo, an *aperçu historico-geographique* of Argentina, a number of cable reports giving the latest political news from the Hispanic American countries, two sections entitled "Babel Express" and "De-Ci, De-Là", containing miscellaneous information, a half page devoted to commercial news, and—most important of all—a section entitled "Courrier Intellectuel". Here are to be found items on literature, archaeology, history as well as the activities of outstanding intellectuals. The review is published at 64 Boulevard de la Tour-Maubourg, Paris, and the subscription for foreign countries is 65 francs annually.

The first volume of an interesting new series of "Pioneers Histories" is a work by Professor Edgar Prestage entitled *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London, A. and C. Black, 1933). The books in this series, according to the editors' preface, are designed to provide broad surveys of the great migrations of European peoples to the non-European continents. The work in question is both readable and scholarly. The achievements of the Portuguese in Brazil find full recognition. Copious footnotes supply abundant bibliographical references. The author is professor of Portuguese language, literature, and history at the University of London and has to his credit a long list of books on Portuguese themes. It is expected that the second volume of the "Pioneers Histories" will be written by Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick, late of Cambridge University, and will have as its title *The Conquistadores*.

During the past two decades the cultivation of Hispanic studies has made great progress in Great Britain. One of the evidences is the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, edited by Professor E. Allison Peers of the University of Liverpool, and now in its tenth year. The articles and other material in this excellent quarterly are by no means confined to the linguistic or literary field. Among the major contributions of the year 1933 for instance may be mentioned the "Catalán Statute and the Cortes", by Professor Peers, "La Universidad Española", by Señora María V. de Lara, "Spain Week by Week" (this topic appears in every number), "Spanish Studies at Cambridge, since the War", by Professor Ernest Barker, and "Liberty in Spain in the XVI Century", by the well-known critic, Aubrey F. G. Bell. In this last article, Mr. Bell defends the Inquisition as a factor which arrested the growing Spanish decadence of the time. The *Bulletin* of course contains a large number of shorter notices and book reviews, the latter embracing many works on Hispanic America.

The Bolivian archaeologist, Arthur Posnansky, whose works on Tiahuanacu have given rise to so much controversy, has just written a new book in which he advanced rather amazing evidence for the pre-Columbian discovery of America. *Las Perlas Agri y las Representaciones sobre Tejidos arcaicos, como Prueba del Descubrimiento de América antes de Colón* (Buenos Aires, 1933). These early voyages, according to the author, were carried on by the ships of wealthy

merchants for the sole purpose of obtaining gold, silver and precious stones at insignificant prices. One of the most useful means of barter were the so-called Agri pearls, made of glass on the island of Murano, near Venice, and possessing fabulous value in the eyes of the American aborigines. Sr. Posnansky claims that he has found examples of these "pearls" in Peruvian tombs along the coast of the Pacific. The other "proof" is the existence of a sort of tapestry containing the legend of "Adam and Eve in the terrestrial paradise", which had "undoubtedly" been supplied to the weaver by a Christian. Such a tapestry the writer claims to have seen although unfortunately he gives no reproduction of it.

Late in 1931, a number of eminent Argentine historians, including such well-known figures as Juan Álvarez, Rómulo D. Carbía, Carlos Ibarguren, Ricardo Rojas, and Rómulo Zabala organized the Sociedad de Historia Argentina. Though primarily devoted to the study of investigation of Argentine history the organization is in no sense parochial in scope. The history of other countries or regions whose history has any bearing upon that of Argentina will also fall within its purview. Beginning with May, 1932, it has held monthly meetings, at which papers have been read by members and guests. The members fall into three groups: "socios de número" (whose number is fixed at twenty), "miembros correspondientes", and "socios activos". The last may include professors, specialists, and others interested in history. The society has ambitious plans for publication. Under the direction of Sr. Radaelli will be issued as the first volume of a *Colección de Documentos selectos de la Historia Argentina*, the *Memorias* of the viceroys of Buenos Aires. Arrangements have also been made to publish a volume in honor of the historian, Juan Augustin García, who died in 1923, to which various members will contribute articles. The first publication to appear, however, is the book by Sr. Posnansky, mentioned in the previous note. The long list of distinguished scholars who are members of the society is a happy augury for its success and usefulness. The address of the secretary is Viamonte 430, Buenos Aires.

In addition to its excellent *Boletín* the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires publishes from time to time historical mono-

graphs. The last to appear (no. LXII, 1933) is by Dr. Fernando Marquez Miranda, professor in the Universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata, with the title of "Ensayo Sobre los Artifices de la Platería en Buenos Aires Colonial." In comparison with the "Gremios de plateros" of Mexico and Peru which the writer takes up also at some length the guild of silversmiths of colonial Buenos Aires was comparatively unimportant. None the less the achievements of these humble artificers were in many cases remarkable, and the writer makes clear the important place they occupied in the artistic and cultural life of the viceroyalty.

The Argentine poet and essayist, Ernesto Morales has recently made an important contribution to the early history of Spanish exploration in the new world with his interesting and scholarly work *Sarmiento de Gamboa (Un navegante español del siglo XVI)*, (Barcelona, 1932). Among Sr. Morales's works lying partly in the domain of history may be mentioned *Leyendas Guaraníes*, *Estudios incáicos*, and *Las Enseñanzas de Pacarís*. During the course of the present year (1934) will be published his *Esploradores y Pirates en el Sur Argentina*.

The important monograph of Dr. Ricardo Levene, entitled *La anarquía de 1820 en Buenos Aires desde el Punto de Vista institucional*, originally appearing as an introduction to the *Acuerdos de la Honorable Junta de Representantes* published by the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (1932) has just been reissued with revisions and additions in a much more convenient and accessible form as one of the volumes of the Biblioteca de Historia Argentina y Americana, published under the auspices of the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana (1933). Other volumes in this series are *Estudios de Historia y Arte Argentinos* by Antonio Dellepiane, *Temas de Historia económica Argentina* by Juan Álvarez, *Primeras Luchas entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la Gobernación del Tucumán* by Ramón J. Cárcano, *Rivadavia y la Simulación monárquica de 1816* by Carlos Correa Luna and *El Advenimiento de Rosas* by Mariano de Vedía y Mitre.

On the basis of hitherto unused documents, chiefly to be found in the National Archives, the Argentine historian, Professor Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois, has shed a flood of light on the English menace to

the Spanish Platine Colonies in his monographic article *Los Ingleses y el Río de la Plata, 1780-1806*. Sr. Caillet-Bois, in addition to his academic affiliations, is one of the investigators of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires. Among his published works should be mentioned *Ensayo sobre el Río de la Plata y la Revolución Francesa* (1929), *Nuestros Corsarios: Brown y Burchard* (1930), *La Bibliografía de Albert Matiez* (1932), *Alejandro Duclos Guyot, Emisario Napoleónico, Antecedentes de las Invasiones Inglesas de 1806-1807* (1929).

An important contribution to the early history of the Argentine Republic has recently been made by the historian Benjamin Villegas Basavilbaso in his work *La Personalidad del Dr. Juan José Paso* (Buenos Aires, 1933). Paso, it will be recalled, played a very important and at times decisive rôle in Platine affairs from 1810 to 1827. Sr. Villegas, who for some time was an officer in the Argentine navy, has written extensively on naval history. Among his books, all published in Buenos Aires, may be mentioned *El Combate naval de San Nicolas* (1911), *El Combate naval del Arroyo de la China* (1913), *El Almirante Brown en nuestra Historia* (1915), *El Pasaje del Paraná por el Paso de la Patria* (1916), *El Dominio del Mar Pacífico y la Expedición libertadora del Perú* (1922), *La Acción naval de los Pozos* (1926), *La Invasión Brasileña a Patagones* (1927), *El Dominio del Mar en la Revolución Argentina* (1929), *Los Marineros Británicos en las Guerras de la Independencia Argentina* (1930).

In *La Santa Furia del Padre Casteñada* (Madrid, 1933), the Argentine critic and novelist, Arturo Capdevila, has rescued from oblivion one of the most colorful figures of the early history of Argentina. During the years 1815-1823, Father Casteñada was known as the most famous pamphleteer of Buenos Aires. Unitarians and Federalists alike were the victims of his pasquinades which in pungency remind one of those of the great Quevedo. Sr. Capdevila is one of the most remarkable stylists of contemporary Argentina and is the author of some thirty novels.

An important but somewhat neglected phase of Hispanic American history is admirably treated by Nicanor Sarmiento in his *Historia*

del Libro y de las Bibliotecas Argentinas (Buenos Aires, 1930). Among the topics considered are books in Precolumbian America, the conditions of public instruction during the colonial period, the establishment of libraries in various cities and towns of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, the creation of the Biblioteca Nacional by the Junta Revolucionaria of 1810, the growth of Argentine libraries during the nineteenth century, and finally the efforts expended in recent decades by means of congresses, expositions, and the like to encourage the creation and expansion of libraries throughout the republic. Dr. Sarmiento is president of the Academia Americana de la Historia and of the Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecas. He is the author of many books dealing with legal and economic topics and is one of the prime movers of the Universidad Popular of Buenos Aires. He is the nephew of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the "School Master President" of Argentina.

Under the auspices of the executive branch of the Argentine government is being organized an "Exposición Transoceánica Argentina" in the shape of a world tour on the Royal Dutch Liner "Geleria". The voyage, which includes some 56 ports, will last from March to December, 1934. The ship has fitted up seven salons designed to represent the "Culture, wealth and organization of the country". One salon will be devoted to artistic achievements such as paintings, tapestries, and the like. Another, devoted to "representación del libro argentino" will contain a model library in which historical books will figure prominently. A third salon is designed to set forth "material cultural sobre la organización alcanzada por el país", and will contain exhibits of the National Council of Education, railways, municipal undertakings, maps, photographs, etc. The remaining four sections deal with industries and products. The ship is scheduled to be in New York from April 19 to 26. It will carry a distinguished list of passengers.

A distinct contribution to the naval history of Brazil has recently appeared from the pen of Captain Lucas Alexandre Boiteux under the title of *Ministros da Marina (Notas Biographicas), 1808-1840* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Naval, 1933). The ministers of marine who served in Brazil under Dom João VI., Dom Pedro I., and the Regency are taken up one by one and the important naval

events under their incumbency are recited in great detail. The author is a writer and naval officer of distinction. His father, Admiral Henrique Boiteux (died 1894), was also a writer of some note. The family, descendants of Swiss colonists, has long been prominent in Santa Catharina. Among the other works of Captain Boiteux may be mentioned *A Tactica nas Campanhas Navaes Nacionais* (São Paulo, Weissflog Irmãos, 1922-1930), *O Tenente-General Antero José Ferreira de Brito, Baron de Tramandahy* (Rio de Janeiro, Jornal do Commercio, 1931), and *Paulistas em Santa Catharina Seiscentista; Francisco Dias Velho* (São Paulo, Tpy. Diario Official, 1931).

The philosopher and humanist, Vicente Licinio Cardoso, whose death in 1928 was a severe loss to Brazilian letters, left a number of manuscripts which are being published in São Paulo in an excellent series known as *A Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira*. The first of these posthumous works, entitled *A Margem da Historia do Brasil* (1933) abounds in interesting suggestions and new points of view. The scope of the work is indicated by its major headings: "O Rio S. Francisco—Rio sem Historia", "O Rio S. Francisco—Base Physica da Unidade do Imperio", "A Margem do Dominio Espanhol no Brasil", "Diogo Antonio Feijó—Um Fantasma so Segundo Imperio", "A Margem do Secundo Reinado", "Euclides da Cunha".

The Brazilian historian and anthropologist Oliveira Vianna, has made a scientific approach to the great ethnic problems of Brazil in his most recent work *Raça e Assimilação* (São Paulo, 1932). Here are analyzed, with a wealth of statistical materials, the various racial types of Brazil such as the white, the Indian, the Negro, the Mulatto and the *Caboclo*. The book in question is, however, only a rapid synthesis of a detailed and comprehensive study about to be published entitled *O Aryano no Brasil (biologia e mesologia da raça)* and a monograph *Anthropologia Social (psycologia e sociologia da raça)* on which the author is now at work. Among the works of Sr. Oliveira Vianna already published may be mentioned *Populações Meridionaes do Brazil* (I. 1922), *O Idealismo da Evolução politica do Imperio e da Republica* (1922), *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro* (1923), *O Ocaso do Imperior* (1926), *Problemas de Politica Objectiva* (1930). A paper read before the Congrès International d'Histoire Colonial in September, 1931, was published by the *Revue d'Histoire*

des Colonies (no. 5, 1932) under the title of "Formation ethnique du Brésil Colonial". This very valuable article is issued as a separate by the Librairie Ernest Lecoux, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris, where it may be purchased.

The activities of Bolívar during his latter years have been made the subject of a careful study by the Colombian historian R. Botero Saldarriaga in his work *El Libertador-Presidente* (Bogotá, 1932). Sr. Botero is a prominent citizen of Antioquía and has for many years interested himself in the history and traditions of this province in which he has laid the scenes of a number of delightful novels. His most important historical work is his *General José María Córdoba, 1799-1829* (Bogotá, 1927), a full length biography, based on original material, of one of the important secondary figures of the Wars of Independence. At the present time he has in press *El Vicepresidente de la Gran Colombia, Zéa*.

One of the most prolific of contemporary Cuban historians is Emeterio S. Santovenia, an *académico de número* of the Cuban Academy of History, and a prominent publicist of Havana. During the past year four of his works were published, *Prim, el Caudillo estadista* in the series "Vidas españolas e hispanoamericanas del Siglo XIX" (Espasa-Calpe, Barcelona), *Vida constitucional de Cuba, Bolívar y las Antillas Hispánicas*, and *Victor Hugo y Cuba*. For the last five years he has been actively engaged with Captain Joaquín Llaverías, director of the National Archives, in the publication under the auspices of the Cuban Academy of History of the *Actas de las Asembléas de Representantes y del Consejo de Gobierno durante la Guerra de Independencia*. This series of which volume VI appeared in 1933 constitutes an indispensable source for all students of Cuban history during the 'nineties of the last century.

One of the most important contributions made in recent years to the religious history of sixteenth century Mexico is a work by Robert Ricard entitled *La Conquête spirituelle du Mexique. Essai sur l'Apostolat et les Méthodes missionnaires des Ordres mendiants en Nouvelle Espagne, de 1523-24 à 1572* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 151 Rue St. Jacques, 1933). The work is based in large part on hitherto unused manuscript materials.

Certain interesting sidelights on the underground opposition to the Díaz régime during its last two decades are revealed by a series of articles which ran through the winter of 1934 in the Mexican weekly *Todo* under the title of "La Vida de los Flores Magón". Lic. Enrique Flores Magón, the writer of the articles, together with his brother Ricardo, were regarded by the conservative Mexicans as anarchists and incendiaries. The influence they exerted through their paper *Regeneración* and through the Partido Liberal Mexicano was none the less considerable. It is assumed the articles will later appear in book form.

Among the publications of the Instituto Nacional de Panamá—the highest institution of learning in the republic—is a stout volume of 562 pages entitled *Documentos Históricos sobre la Independencia del Istmo de Panamá* (1932). In addition to such well-known documents as the Hay-Herrán Convention and the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty is a number of essays and reports of Panamanian historians not easily available to students in the United States. Among these may be mentioned a long and devastating analysis of Bunau-Varilla's book, *Panamá, its Creation, Destruction and Resurrection* by Dr. George E. Boyd; an essay by Dr. Pablo Arosemena, "La Secesion de Panamá y sus causas"; and a series of documents relating to the attempts of Panamá to revolt from Colombia prior to 1903.

To many it will be something of a surprise to learn that the Guaraní tongue, the language still spoken by a large section of the inhabitants of Paraguay, is undergoing a renaissance. The most important figure in this movement is an antiquarian, folklorist, and publicist of Asunción, Sr. Narciso R. Colman. Not only is Sr. Colman responsible for the founding of the society, "Cultura Guaraní", but he has published a considerable number of works both in Guaraní and Spanish. Chief among these is *Nande Ipĩ Cuera (Nuestros Antepasados)*, a long Guaraní poem dealing with the traditions and early history of the race. This work, with an introduction in Spanish, originally appeared in the *Biblioteca de la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay* (No. 3, 1929), and was later reprinted in the *Annaes do XX Congresso Internacional de Americanistas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1932). Among other works of Sr. Colman are *Ocara Poty (Flores Silvestres)*

(two volumes, Asunción, 1921), and *Mil Refranes Guaraníes* (Asunción, 1929).

The most famous of Uruguayan painters, Juan Manuel Blanes, whose death occurred in 1901 has at length found a worthy biographer. Dr. José M. Fernández, former assistant director of the Uruguayan National Archives and Historical Museum, has written *Juan Manuel Blanes, su Vida y sus Cuadros* (Montevideo, 1931). The historical importance of this work is considerable. Blanes, who was born in 1830, witnessed many of the great historical movements of Uruguay in the nineteenth century, and was personally acquainted with some of the outstanding men of Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile. Partly as a consequence some of his finest works dealt with historical topics, in the painting of which he paid the most careful attention to historical accuracy and detail. Among these works may be mentioned "Ataque a Paysandú" (an episode of the Paraguayan War), "Los Ultimos Momentos de José Miguel Carrera", "La Revista de Ran-cagua", "Jura de la Constitución de 1830", "La Muerte del General Flores", and "La Batalla de Sarandí". The fame of Blanes has steadily grown during the past quarter century and he is now recognized as one of the greatest painters produced by Hispanic America.

A work of fundamental importance in the history of Uruguay in particular and the whole Platine area in general is *Los Orígenes de Montevideo, 1607-1749* (Buenos Aires, Librería y Editorial "La Facultad," 1933) by the Uruguayan writer and diplomat, Luis Enrique Azarola Gil. This carefully written monograph is based on original sources, largely to be found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The most important documents are reproduced in an appendix. Sr. Azarola Gil, at the present time first secretary of the Uruguayan embassy at Buenos Aires, is the author of a considerable number of books dealing with the region bordering on La Plata. Among these works may be mentioned *La Sociedad Uruguaya y sus Problemas* (Paris, 1911), *Veinte Linajes del Siglo XVIII* (Paris, 1926), *Crónicas y Linajes de la Gobernación del Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1927), *Fondos Documentales Relativos a la Historia del Uruguay* (Madrid, 1930), *La Epopeya de Manuel Lobo* (Madrid, 1931), *Aportación al Padrón Histórico de Montevideo* (Madrid, 1932). Sr. Azarola Gil does not believe that history should be the handmaid of chauvinism. Recently

his government appointed a commission to revise historical texts, based on the fact that "los que se usan tanto en los estudios primarios como en los secundarios y normales adolecen de errores que perjudican la enseñanza de esta materia, al deformar los hechos cuya fiel expresión constituye la esencia misma de la historia". Sr. Azarola Gil's contribution to this excellent idea of reforming existing texts is a brochure entitled *Las Herejías Históricas del Dr. Eduardo Acevedo* (Buenos Aires, 1933). The analysis is confined to volume one of Sr. Acevedo's classic *Anales Históricos del Uruguay*. This work, according to its critic, "está inspirada en un sentimiento de nacionalismo estrecho", which "enuncia un criterio hostil hacia pueblos amigos", and which "está plagada de versiones inverídicas y de juicios equivocados, a veces hirentes". The admirable campaign undertaken by Uruguay might well be emulated in other countries.

Interesting side lights on various aspects of Venezuelan culture both literary and political during the nineteenth century are to be found in *Venezuelan Prose Fiction* by Dillwyn F. Ratcliff (New York, Instituto de las Españas, 1933).

One of the most fascinating by-paths of Argentine history has been explored by Professor Amaranto A. Abeledo in a brochure entitled *Nomenclatura antigua y moderna de las calles "históricas" de Buenos Aires* (1933), in the interesting series of publications of the Liceo Nacional de Señoritas, No. 1, "José Figueroa Alcorta", of which institution Sr. Abeledo is rector. Some seventy of the streets of Buenos Aires bearing historical names are arranged alphabetically, together with their designations at various epochs in the history of the city, and the reasons for their present names. The value of the work is enhanced by a delightfully written introduction, based, like the rest of the study, on a vast amount of historical research, and by the reproduction of plans of the city printed in 1778 and 1828.

The well known Chilean economist and statistician Dr. Carlos Keller R. is the author of a number of books of considerable interest to the historical student. In 1931 appeared *La Eterna Crisis Chilena* (Santiago, Editorial Nascimento). The scope and character of this work, which is a searching analysis of the factors in Chile's economic and political evolution, are indicated by the chapter headings: "La Organización Política", "La Evolución Cultural", "El Es-

píritu de la Economía", "La Estructura de la Economía Chilena", "Política Económica", "La Minería", "La Agricultura", "Colonización", and "El Aumento de la Población". In 1933 was published *Sinopsis Geográfico-Estadística de la República de Chile* (Santiago, Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo). Here are passed in review the activities of the Chileans in every domain of national life with special reference to the year 1932. Among the topics included are "Movimiento de la Población", "Asistencia Social", and "Provision Social", in addition to sections on agriculture, finance, mining, industry, commerce, etc. Carefully prepared charts and graphs increase the value of this book which is a model of its kind and is fully up to the level of the best statistical works published in Europe and the United States. An English translation is to appear shortly. Dr. Keller occupies the important post of Director General de Estadística. He received his higher education in Germany, and is a frequent contributor to economic and other reviews, especially the *Atenea*, published by the University of Concepcion. At the present time he has in press *La Economía Chilena durante la Colonia*.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE HISTORICAL
ARTICLES IN *NOSOTROS* *

VOLUMES I-LXXVI

Nosotros is a monthly review of Argentina. With Roberto Fernando Giusti and Alfredo Antonio Bianchi as editors, its publication began in Buenos Aires in August 1907 and still continues. In addition to the typical creative prose and poetical works usually found in a literary review, it contains hundreds of scholarly articles in such other fields as anthropology, art, education, economics, history, literary criticism, music, philosophy, philology, sociology, political science, and religion. At present there is no complete index to this mass of valuable material.

The purpose of the bibliography presented here is to make available all the articles of *Nosotros* in the field of history, during the first twenty-five years of publication. The first seventy-six volumes are covered, and the study is brought down to October, 1932.

In the notations accompanying the items, it has been our purpose to indicate the contents of each article only to such an extent as to make possible immediate decision upon its value for any specific study. The notations, therefore, are in no sense to be considered as summaries. Expression of opinion has been limited to the starring of certain articles which seemed especially valuable through the inclusion of bibliographical material, etc. If *Nosotros* should not be available in a local library, it is hoped that these notations will be useful in determining upon the advisability of inter-library loan applications.

1. Acevedo Díaz, Eduardo. *Epocas militares de los países del Plata*. 6:80, July, 1911. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

The period from 1806 to 1832. The English invasions, Artigas, and General Alvear are discussed.

2. Agote, Luis. Nerón. Los suyos y su época. 9:62-64, November, 1912. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A book based on the belief that Nero belonged to the domain of historical alienism.

3. Alberini, Coriolano. Dios en la historia y un profeta del pasado. 5:213-225, April, 1911.

A review of *La historia de Europa y la segunda Roma* by Clemente Ricci and a discussion of Ricci's theological theory of history.

4. ——— Dios en la historia y un profeta del pasado. 5:289-296, May, 1911.

After Christianity annihilated paganism and civilized the barbarians its belief became dogmatic and overflowing with pagan elements.

5. ——— La enseñanza de la historia en las universidades alemanas. 7:56-64, January, 1912.

A discussion of this book by Ernesto Quesada. The reviewer considers that the advocated Lamprecht educational system is not suitable for Argentina.

6. ——— La enseñanza de la historia en las universidades. Las teorías de Lamprecht. 8:97-121, June, 1912.

The teaching of history in Germany and the advantage to Argentine culture which would come from a rational implantation of the methods of Lamprecht.

7. Aldao, Carlos A. Miranda y los orígenes de la independencia americana. 66:421-423, December, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

After portraying inter-European rivalry, Aldao follows Miranda's career from the time he served in the army of the North American colonies until his betrayal by Bolívar and his death.

8. Anales de la facultad de derecho y ciencias sociales. 33:279, October, 1919. Reviewed.

Tables of contents for volumes 18 and 19 are given.

9. André, Marius. Bolívar y la democracia. 54:410-411, November, 1926. Reviewed.

A life of Bolívar.

10. Araújo, Orestes. Historia de los charrúas y demás tribus indígenas del Uruguay. 7:229-230, March, 1912. Reviewed by L. D.

A work popularizing what is known about these Indians.

11. Araujo Jorge, Arthur Guimarães de. Ensaio de historia e crítica. 26:655-656, August, 1917. Reviewed.

Among these essays is one on Guillermo Ferrero's conception of history and an analysis of Groussac's work on the Islas Malvinas.

- *12. Arciniegas, Germán. *El capitalismo en la conquista de América*. 74:54-61, January, 1932.

The financial backing of the Spanish voyages of discovery in contrast to that of the English—a contrast of individual capitalist versus trading company and of exploration versus trade and most respectable piracy. In this latter respect the author claims that Drake is venerated as one of the founders of the British Empire through his “exquisite commercial vision”. Particularly interesting are the accounts of the dangers to which a Spanish capitalist was exposed.

- *13. ———— *Los conquistadores*. 75:113-125, June, 1932.

A conquistador relates his manner of life and method of work. Two kinds of conquerors, the student and the empresario, are portrayed. Cortés, Quesada, Gasca, Solís, Sebastián Caboto, and Pedro de Mendoza are discussed.

- *14. Arguedas, Alcides. Bolivia. Balance de un siglo. 54:145-166, October, 1926.

A pessimistic portrayal of Bolivian history since 1825. Bolivia's heritage of the wars of independence was a loss of the culture typified by the University of Chuquisaca, a loss of population, a loss of territory. This was balanced by a growth of the army in the power of the several unfortunate caudillos. The governments of such rulers as Belzu, Melgarejo, Morales, Adolfo Ballivián, and Tomás Frías are discussed. The author also writes of the disintegrating effect of geography on Bolivian history, of the evils of civil war and of such foreign disputes as those with Chile and Brazil. He discusses the position of Indian and gringo, and ends this picture of social, economic, and political disaster with a portrayal of Bolivia's present status.

15. Arigós de Elía, A. Evolución en el concepto del patriotismo. 36:90-94, September, 1920. Reviewed by Julio Irazusta.

Evolution of the Argentine ideal of patriotism.

16. Arreguine, Víctor. Estudios históricos—Tiempos heroicos—Guerra de la Cis-platina. 16:293, December, 1914. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A series of historical essays.

17. ———— Lorenzo Latorre. 21:326-330, March, 1916.

Vindication of a “bloody but progressive” Uruguayan dictator.

18. ———— Los orientales. 1:81-90, September, 1907.

Concerning the early history of Uruguay and its caudillos.

19. Ayarragaray, Lucas. La anarquía argentina y el caudillismo. 52:131-132, January-February, 1926. Reviewed by Adolfo Korn Villafañe.

The reviewer expresses great personal esteem for the author, but disapproval of his work which he feels to be out of touch with the new school of history.

20. ———— Estudios históricos y políticos. 1:201-202, October, 1907. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

21. Azaña, Manuel (pseud. X.X.X.). *Cartas de España*. 46:525-529, April, 1924.

A historical presentation of the evils of Spanish militarism.

22. Baqué, Santiago. La "Representación de los hacendados" de Mariano Moreno. 16:284-291, December, 1914.

The author disagrees with a monograph by Diego Luis Molinari on the mercantile policy of Spain in the colonies and the influence of the document by Moreno.

23. Barbagelata, Hugo David. *Para la historia de América*. 44:114, May, 1923. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

A series of historical articles.

24. Barrenechea, Mariano Antonio. *Florecia*. 49:461-471, April, 1925.

The Florentine civilization of the Renaissance and the advantages of its pagan spirit.

25. ———. *Manual de historia de las civilizaciones*. 48:474-482, December, 1924. Reviewed by Federico A. Daus.

The reviewer is dissatisfied with this book and lists its weaknesses.

26. ———. *Los orígenes argentinos*. 8:215-220, July, 1912.

A discussion of Roberto Levillier's sociological synthesis of Argentine history from 1580 to 1890. Beginning with a consideration of the Spain of the sixteenth century, the author passes to define the psychology of the conqueror and of the Indian and discusses the economy, political policies, sociological condition, and religion of the days of the viceroyalty. After a discussion of the Hispanic American psychology in the eighteenth century, the author treats the period of independence, notably the times of Rivadavia and Rosas, and the beginnings of nationality.

27. Barret, Rafael. Alberdi. 7:102-104, February, 1912.

The author considers a certain lack of sympathy of the Argentinians for the work of Alberdi.

28. Barroetaveña, Francisco Antonio (With Ricardo Guido Lavalle).

El general don Tomás Guido y el paso de los Andes. 25:397-400, March, 1917.

See Lavalle. Item 182.

29. Battistessa, Angel J. *La biblioteca de un juriconsulto toledano del siglo XV*. 51:252-255, October, 1925. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

The purpose of this monograph originally was to publish an inventory of the library of Dr. Alonso Cota. The scope of the study has been amplified to include information about the man's life and a comparison with the poet Rodrigo de Cota.

30. Beccar Varela, Adrián. Régimen municipal de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. 6:394-397, November, 1911.

This thesis by José María Sáenz Valiente is divided into three parts. The first treats of the period of revolution and anarchy. It deals with the municipal order in early Argentine history, the revolution, the *Acta Capitalar*, the Statute of 1811, Constitution of 1812, *Esglamentos* of 1817 and 1819, and comes down to the suppression of the Cabildos in 1821. Part two discusses the period of reorganization from 1852 to 1880. Part three deals with the present communal legislation.

31. Béraud, Henri. Le vitriol de lune. 44:116, May, 1923. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

Episodes of the reign of Louis XV. culminating in his death.

32. Berr, Henri (Director). Biblioteca de síntesis histórica. La evolución de la humanidad. 54:274-275, October, 1926. Reviewed.

The review gives the subject and authors of the different volumes.

33. Blanco, Marcos Manuel. Rivadavia. 31:197-207, February, 1919.

Rivadavia is portrayed as the ambassador extraordinary of the future, and his progressive program is analyzed.

34. Blanco Fombona, Rufino. El conquistador español del siglo XVI. 41:539-541, August, 1922. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

A work in defense of the conquerors of America.

35. ——— La incapacidad administrativa de España durante su época de grandeza. 39:5-28, September, 1921.

Blanco Fombona notes apparent Spanish insistency upon the ruin of such basic industries as agriculture, textiles, and leather. He comments upon Spain's harmful economic legislation, her wars, her general administrative and economic inefficiency with their train of hunger and crime. There was a general scarcity of money and reversion to barter. In the colonies contraband trade resulted from the Spanish policy of economic isolation.

36. Boletín del Instituto de investigaciones históricas. 46:143-144, January, 1924.

The table of contents of this bulletin of the University of Buenos Aires is given.

37. Bolívar, Simón. Un pensamiento sobre el Congreso de Panamá. 23:94-95, July, 1916. Reviewed by Dardo Corvalán Mendilaharsu.

One of Bolívar's unedited opinions of this congress of 1826.

38. Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo. La audiencia de Charcas. 33:196-208, October, 1919.

Correspondence of the presidents and oidores of the Audiencia with the Spanish rulers concerning judicial and political affairs. This volume contains an interesting portrayal of life during the period from 1551 to 1579.

39. Bourrienne, Luis Antoine Fauvelet de. *Napoleón íntimo*. 7: 73, January, 1912. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

The memoirs of his private secretary, translated into Spanish by Antonio Muñoz Pérez.

40. Bravo, Mario. *En el surco*. 5:250-253, May, 1911.

Memoirs of Fortunato Montoya, who served in the guard of Lamadrid.

41. Bucich Escobar, Ismael. *Buenos Aires ciudad*. 69:171-172, July-August, 1930. Reviewed by Isidoro de la Calle.

A history of Buenos Aires.

42. Bunge, Carlos Octavio. *Sarmiento. El escritor*. 29:331-342, July, 1918.

Essay on some of the writings of a famous Argentinian statesman.

43. Caddeo, Rinaldo. *Sobre Fernando Colón y el Padre Las Casas*. 69:107-111, July-August, 1930.

A reply to an attack of Rómulo D. Carbia in the April number, regarding the question of authorship of a history of the discovery of America.

44. Calle, Isidoro de la. *Clemenceau*. 66:403-406, December, 1929.

Three episodes of his life are stressed: the Commune of Paris of 1870, the Dreyfus case, and the World War.

45. Cambó y Batlle, Francisco de Asís. *España y Cataluña*. 60: 336-346, June, 1928.

Execration of the old régime must give way to the ideal of Iberism. However, Spain's treatment of Cataluña will prove a deterrent to any future federal annexation of Portugal.

46. Cantilo, José Luis. *Un americano ilustre*. 3:148-150, October, 1908.

An article about Guzmán Blanco.

47. Cantarell Dart, J. *Curso completo de historia argentina, para enseñanza secundaria y normal*. 45:374-378, November, 1923.
Reviewed by Federico A. Daus.

The reviewer disapproves of this book and lists its errors.

48. Cánter (hijo), Juan. *A propósito de crítica histórica*. 44:256-258, June, 1923.

49. ———— Clemente L. Fregeiro. 43:545-551, April, 1923.

A discussion of his works on Argentine history, Artigas, etc., and a list of those dating after 1893.

- *50. Capdevila, Arturo. La historia del Perú. 36:149-166, October, 1920.

Causes of errors in Peruvian history as now written and how they may be partially remedied by archeological studies, critical study of early texts, and of Indian *quipus*.

51. ——— Los orígenes de Roma. 34:5-15, January, 1920.

After a consideration of the birth of Romulus and Remus and an analysis of the character of the first, the author concludes—"Rome was founded without either priests or laws, but with the patience and pain of heroic men who one day abandoned the perfidious gods of Alba and their kings and their judges, in one of the many terrible and fruitful exodi of antiquity which ever gave birth to new nations, from Israel to the Tiber. . . ."

52. ——— Rivadavia y el españolismo liberal de la revolución argentina. 73:354-355, November-December, 1931. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

Rivadavia as the genuine interpreter of the liberal *españolismo* of the Argentine Revolution. A summary of this work is given in the review.

53. ——— Las vísperas de Caseros. 41:509-510, August, 1922. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

The reviewer mentions other studies on Rosas.

54. Capello, Francisco. Historiografía romana. 1:20-25, August, 1907.

A list and discussion of various studies in Roman history.

55. Carbia, Rómulo D. "El derecho público eclesiástico" de Vélez Sársfield. 33:98-105, September, 1919.

The relation of church and state in the time of Rosas.

56. ——— El diezmo en el Río de la Plata. 20:76-83, October, 1915.

The author of the article criticizes the work of the compiler. This consists of two thick and "deliciously ingenuous" volumes of documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in the Archivo de Indias at Sevilla, coordinated and edited by Roberto Levillier and published by the Facultad de derecho y ciencias sociales.

57. ——— Fernández de Oviedo, Las Casas y el señor Caddeo. 70:90-95, October, 1930.

Further argument with Rinaldo Caddeo in regard to the part played by Las Casas in the history of the discovery of America supposedly written by Fernando Colón.

58. ——— Fernando Colón, el P. Las Casas, un señor Caddeo y yo. 68:59-73, April, 1930.

The errors in Rinaldo Caddeo's criticism of his *La superhería en la historia del descubrimiento de América* and his claim that Las Casas, not Fernando Colón, was the author of the history appearing in 1571.

59. ——— Gravámenes al comercio colonial en el Río de la Plata. 20:260-276, December, 1915.

A reply to Levillier in regard to *diezmos*. See item 200.

60. ——— Groussac en la historiografía argentina. 65:101-102, July, 1929.

Groussac has made a revision of the various periods in the history of the Río de la Plata as well as teaching a respect for true historical scholarship.

61. Carbia, Rómulo D. Historia de la historiografía argentina. 49:517-518, April, 1925. Reviewed by Adolfo Korn Villafañe.

An evaluation of the entire Argentine historiographical production.

62. ——— La historia del descubrimiento y los fraudes del P. Las Casas. 72:139-154, June, 1931.

In answer to the reply of Emiliano Jos to *Supuestas falsificaciones del P. Las Casas en la historia de Colón*.

- *63. ——— La historiografía de la revolución de mayo y el libro del Dr. Levene. 40:389-401, March, 1922.

Dividing the bibliography of the Argentine revolution into three classes, the author defines each and lists representative works. The first class is comprised of those works in which the emancipation movement is related either in epic style or based upon personal memories. The second class contains more erudite studies such as those of López and Mitre. These studies are more fully documented but do not yet give the special event its rightful place in the entire picture. The works of the third class turn from these more romantic concepts of history to an analysis of the factors behind and about it. Citing the work of Levene as an example, the author then discusses it and lists four reasons for its importance.

64. ——— Lecciones de historia argentina para uso de la enseñanza primaria. 29:137-138, May, 1918. Reviewed.

By subordinating biography and a chronological relation of events to information about the customs of each epoch, the author aims to write a text which shall appeal to reason rather than to memory.

65. ——— ¿La nacionalidad hispánica de Colón, es admisible? 38:354-363, July, 1921.

Arguments against the theory that Columbus was born in Spain and in support of his Italian origin.

66. ——— Un nuevo alegato italiano sobre la patria de Colón. 74:213-214, February, 1932.

Discussion of Columbus' nationality.

67. ——— Los problemas colombinos y la crítica seria. 74:339-342, March-April, 1932.

A reply to Rinaldo Caddeo on the subject of Columbus and his nationality.

68. Carbia, Rómulo D. El señor Groussac historiógrafo. 16:240-249, December, 1914.

Emphasizes Groussac's weaknesses as a historian.

69. Cárcano, Ramón J. De Caseros al 11 de Septiembre. 31:265-267, February, 1919. Reviewed by Nicolás Coronado.

This work deals with Urquiza's successful campaign against Rosas, the beginning of the republic, and the disagreement of Urquiza and Mitre.

70. ——— Del sitio de Buenos Aires al campo de Cepeda. 39:265-269, October, 1921. Reviewed by Aníbal Norberto Ponce.

The second work of a series covering the ten year struggle between the Confederation and Buenos Aires. *De Caseros al 11 de Septiembre* was the first; *Del pacto de Noviembre a la unidad nacional* was to be the last.

71. ——— Juan Facundo Quiroga. 72:425-430, August, 1931. Reviewed by Enrique de Gandía.

This work covers a period of four years in the life of Quiroga and describes how his remains were brought from Córdoba down to Buenos Aires in a red galley.

72. ——— Primeras luchas entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la gobernación de Tucumán (Siglo XVI). 67:266-268, February, 1930. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

This review gives a summary of the 14 chapters of the book and notes its 44 pages of appendix giving the text of the unedited documents in the Archivo General de Indias upon which it is based.

73. Carrizo, César. Catamarca legendaria. La pirámide de 1830. 25:233-238, February, 1917.

The destruction of the statue erected in hatred of Facundo Quiroga by the city of Catamarca.

74. Castellanos, Joaquín. Güemes ante la historia. 51:400-401, November, 1925. Reviewed by M. López Palmero.

A study of the personality of this Salta hero.

75. Castro, Manuel de. Noticia sobre Justino Zavala Muniz. 65:276-281, August-September, 1929.

A discussion of two books by this author; one, *La crónica de Muniz*, a portrayal of his grandfather, the caudillo, General Justino Muniz; the other, a novel, *Crónica de un crimen*, with the caudillo El Carancho as its protagonist. This second work the reviewer finds of value as a study in criminal psychology and as a portrayal of the shameful monotony of rural life.

76. Castro Esteves, Ramón de. Inquisiciones acerca de Rosas y su época. 55:418-420, March, 1927. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The reviewer defends Rosas from the execration of the book and condemns the author's lack of information, insufficient sociological penetration, and vacillating opinions.

77. El centenario del combate de San Lorenzo. 10:331-335, May, 1913.

With an account of an address made by Jorge Walter Perkins.

78. Centenario de Sarmiento. 5:312-313, May, 1911.
79. Chacón y Calvo, José María. El documento y la reconstrucción histórica. 68:128-132, April, 1930. Reviewed by José Luis Romero.

Concerning the joy of working with documents.

80. Chiabra, Juan. Teoría y práctica de la historia. 4:432-437, September, 1909.

A discussion of a work by Juan B. Justo.

81. Colasanti, Arduino. Roma. 72:318-319, July, 1931. A text. Reviewed.

82. Las conferencias de Albert Mathiez. 65:408-410, August-September, 1929.

A revindication of the value of Robespierre in the French Revolution as opposed to Danton.

83. Cordero, Clodomiro. Lavalle y Rosas. 9:270-276, January, 1913.

Lavalle has been portrayed as a martyr whose errors did not spoil his greatness while Rosas has been portrayed as a ferocious and bloody monster. The author disagrees with these interpretations.

84. Coronado, Nicolás. Rivadavia. 20:178-184, November, 1915.

Andrés Lamas has written a biography of Rivadavia dividing his work into two periods—one from 1810 to 1812 and the other from 1826 to 1827. The reviewer believes that the work is a history of Rivadavia's government and a justification of his conduct, a defense rather than a real biography. Alvaro Melián Lafnür has written a monograph upon the ideas of Rivadavia.

85. Correa Luna, Carlos. Don Baltasar de Arandia. 31:114-115, January, 1919. Reviewed by Nicolás Coronado.

A second edition of this monograph.

86. ———. Ensayos de historia colonial. Don Baltasar de Arandia. 17:196-201, February, 1915. Reviewed by Dardo Corvalán Mendilaharsu.

87. ———. Rivadavia y la simulación monárquica de 1815. 66:427-428, December, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

A summary of this work, by chapters, is given in this review.

88. ———. La villa de Luján en el siglo 18. 23:212, August, 1916. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

89. Corvalán Mendilaharsu, Dardo. Adolfo Saldías. 16:98-99, October, 1914.

His work as a historian.

90. ———— Una carta del general Urquiza. 22:174-177, May, 1916.

A letter showing Urquiza as a supporter of Rosas.

91. ———— El Chacho. 14:211-212, May, 1914. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A biography of General Penaloza, rehabilitating the memory of the famous caudillo.

92. ———— Dos cuestiones históricas. 24:419-420, December 1916. Reviewed.

Concerning Francisco de Vitoria and certain "facsimiles apócrifos del Acta de Independencia."

- *93. ———— Rosas. 10:171-189, April, 1913.

Personal details of the life and family of Rosas. In public life, an account of his relations with France, his handling of public funds, and the value of his work. Also an account of the dangers to which he was exposed, his final defeat and withdrawal to England, and life there.

94. ———— Rosas. 69:172-176, July-August, 1930. Reviewed by Salomón Wapnir.

Ten articles on Rosas and his time. They treat of such topics as the events of Barranca Yaco, the intellectual life of the time, the Mazas, Alberdi; there is also a criticism of Groussac's *La divisa punzó*. The author of the review also discusses the judgment of the various authors who have written about Rosas.

95. Corvalán Mendilaharsu, Dardo. Rosas. Historia y fábula. 16:156-177, November, 1914.

A defense of Rosas against charges made by Urién in *El general Lucio Victorio Mansilla*.

96. ———— Rosas. Historia y fábula. 19:83-84, July, 1915. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A refutation of Carlos María Urién's book *El general Lucio Victoria Mansilla*.

97. ———— Sombra histórica. 49:110-111, January, 1925. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The purpose of this work was to "rescue from the shadows of the past, events and documents of interest to the present generations." One is entitled "Facsimiles apócrifos del Acta de la Independencia de 1816."

98. Costa, Julio A. Rosas y Lavalle. 54:557-560, December, 1926. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

Picturesque tales of Argentine history. Possible divisions of that history are noted in the review.

99. Cruz, Ernesto de la (With J. M. Goenaga, Bartolomé Mitre, and Carlos A. Villanueva). *La entrevista de Guayaquil*. 29:128-129, May, 1918. Reviewed.

A reproduction of four versions of this interview between San Martín and Bolívar.

100. Danvila, Alfonso. *Las luchas fratricidas de España*. 49:253-259, February, 1925. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

Three volumes of a proposed series of ten are these called *El testamento de Carlos II*, *La Saboyana*, and *Austria y Borbones*. The reviewer discusses the volumes and compares them to the *Episodios nacionales* of Pérez Galdós.

101. Daus, Federico A. *A propósito de un texto de historia*. 49:409-410, March, 1925.

In answer to Barrenechea's reply to his critical review of his new history text.

102. Delfino, Victorio M. *Metodología y enseñanza de la historia*. 8:71-73, May, 1912. Reviewed.

103. Dobranich, Horacio H. *Ensayos literarios, jurídicos, históricos*. 25:134, January, 1917. Reviewed.

104. *Documentos para la historia argentina. Comercio de Indias. Consulado, comercio de negros y de extranjeros (1791-1809)*. 24:134-135, October, 1916. Reviewed.

In his introduction, Diego Luis Molinari discusses the negro slave trade according to the documents offered.

105. *Documentos relativos a los antecedentes de la independencia y a la organización constitucional de la República Argentina*. 2 vol. 7:233-234, March, 1912. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

In the first volume are found documents dealing with the movements preceding the Independence and especially the uprising of January 1, 1809. Volume two deals with the revolution of September 11, 1852, the mission of General Paz in the interior, the first constitutional president, and a colonization project of doctor Augusto Brougues.

106. *Documentos relativos a los antecedentes de la independencia de la República Argentina*. 1 vol. *Documentos para la historia del virreinato del Río de la Plata*. 2 vol. 8:73-74, May, 1912. Reviewed.

107. Doll, Ramón. *Sobre Bolívar*. 63:296-297, March, 1929.

The author believes Bolívar's ideas to be of enormous importance because they make patent "the true spirit of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of North and South America." This article is in answer to one by Baltasar Cañizal, published in *La Razón* of February 4, 1929.

108. Echagüe, Juan Pablo. *Los métodos históricos en Francia en el siglo XIX.* 73:355-357, November-December, 1931. Reviewed by Enrique de Gandía.

Concerning authors of the French historiography of the 19th century and their masterpieces.

109. Eizaguirre, José Manuel. *Cómo se formó el país argentino.* 62:125-127, October, 1928. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The author relates the historical events in the formation of Argentina, gives their sociological interpretation, and draws certain conclusions. This review lists the several problems treated, such as the ethnic problem, the economic problems and those of administrative and political organization. The three decisive periods in the political emancipation of the country are given as 1580, 1776, and 1807.

110. ————. *¿Dónde está el pueblo?* 65:397-399, August-September, 1929. Reviewed by Julio Aramburu.

A series of essays on such topics as the influence of the people on the spirit of their time; early customs and education; Sarmiento, Mitre, Urquiza, and Monteagudo.

111. ————. *El pasado en el presente.* 49:113-114, January, 1925. Reviewed by Arturo Orzábal Quintana.

Articles upon "Social succession in Argentine history," "Commentary on the vote given in the name and by the will of the people in Congress assembled in Tucumán in 1816," "The sun in the presidential insignia."

112. ————. *Paul Groussac y su obra de historia argentina.* 65:89-92, July, 1929.

Groussac as an organizer and critic of historical studies, as well as a research worker. His work in the field of history, his lack of interest in the masses, and a certain lack of warmth are given as his chief defects.

113. Elmore, Edwin. *El pensamiento de Bolívar.* 49:240-251, February, 1925.

Bolívar's project of general federation of the Hispanic American states in contrast with their present state of isolation. Their need for such union.

114. Espinosa Cordero, Nicolás. *Historia de España en América.* 73:357-360, November-December, 1931. Reviewed by Enrique de Gandía.

The reviewer feels that this work makes no contribution to its field.

115. *Facultad de filosofía y letras. Documentos para la historia argentina.* Tomo VII. *Sesiones de la Junta Electoral de Buenos Aires.* 1815-1820. 29:293-294, June, 1918. Reviewed.

116. ————. *Documentos relativos a la organización constitucional de la República Argentina.* 2 vol. 6:246-248, September, 1911. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

This work has three apendices. The first contains the correspondence between Urquiza and Governor Antonio Crespo; in the second is a series of the laws and decrees of the period; the third contains the law dictated by the general constituent congress establishing the municipality of Buenos Aires.

117. ——— Leyes y ordenanzas nuevamente hechas para la gobernación de las Indias, 1502-1543. 47:249, June, 1924.
Reviewed.

This new edition has an introduction by Diego Luis Molinari covering such topics as the encomienda and the condition of the Indians.

- *118. Fariña Núñez, Eloy. Al margen del caos paraguayo. 7:264-270, March, 1912.

In the transit from the inorganic tumult of anarchy to the stable order of the constitutional period, one should not overlook the real part played in the work of national unification by the civil wars.

- *119. ——— Centenario paraguayo. 5:241-249, May, 1911.

There are two currents in Paraguayan history—that of tradition, impregnated with a militant nationalism, and that of new ideas. The first is represented by the caudillos and their ignorant following; the second is just coming into existence, and it must be based upon education. The author summarizes Paraguayan history under the following topics: the timid beginnings of liberty, the geographic and spiritual cloistering of the tyranny, the nameless horror of the war of 1870, and, finally, the long war with its accompanying ambition, lack of patriotism, caudillism, and the barbarity of the quadruple alliance.

120. ——— Vicente Risco. La filosofía moderna y el renacimiento gallego. 59:171-188, February-March, 1928.

A review of the philosophical currents of the century and of the present Galician renaissance in connection with the personality and work of this leading Galician philosopher and essayist. Leading essays are mentioned, and there is a rather complete discussion of the "Teoría del nacionalismo gallego."

- *121. Fernández, Juan Rómulo. Los estudios históricos. 57:168-188, August, 1927.

The evolution of historical studies in the Argentine during the first quarter of the 20th century. The author notes a lack of a single definitive work, but a marked general progress. A discussion of the various leading historical writers and their work. The author also discusses such kindred subjects as pre-history, anthropology, linguistics, architecture, and geography, and gives a bibliography. He also lists the various bodies interested in historical research and ends with a classified list of the historical works appearing in the country from 1900 to 1927.

122. ——— Groussac, crítico de nuestra historia. 65:103-106, July, 1929.

Other methods of approach to history as compared with that of Groussac and the value of his critical scholarship.

123. ——— José de San Martín y la argentinofobia venezolana. 71:344-360, April, 1931.

Venezuelan animadversion for the Argentine hero as seen in Jesús Arocha Moreno's *Bolívar juzgado por el general San Martín*. Fernández mentions certain stains upon Bolívar's record, recalls San Martín's life, and praises his character.

124. ——— El libro sobre Rosas, de Carlos Ibarguren. 71:179-184, February, 1931.

A summary of the work and a discussion of sources and of different chapters.

125. ——— Saavedra. 66:428-430, December, 1929. Reviewed by Alberto Castro.

A historical study of Don Cornelio Saavedra and a comparison with Moreno.

126. ——— Sarmiento. 66:257-267, November, 1929.

The best representative of Argentinians—his life, character, his love affairs, his works, and an excellent bibliography of works about him.

127. ——— Sarmiento frente a los caudillos. 69:38-48, July-August, 1930.

Interesting and valuable study of his position and accomplishments in the Argentine. His battles against caudillos, especially El Chacho, are related.

128. Fernández Almagro, Melchor. Orígenes del régimen constitucional en España. 63:278-281, March, 1929. Reviewed by Ramón Doll.

Part one deals with the history of Spain from the War of the Succession to the Independence; part two is an analysis of the constitution of Cádiz of 1812; part three, the reign of Fernando VII from 1813 to 1830.

129. Ferrari, Antonio Rubén. El fusilamiento del coronel Dorrego. 69:62-71, July-August, 1930.

The author considers that this crime facilitated the dictatorial plans of Rosas.

130. Figueiredo, Fidelino de. Alejandro Herculano. 56:319-329, June, 1927.

The life and work of this Portuguese scholar, the transition of his interest from the historical novel to history, his concept of history, his enthusiasm for the mediaeval period. Among the historical works discussed are *Cartas sobre la historia de Portugal*, *Portugaliae monumenta historica*, and *Historia da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*.

131. Fingerit, Julio. El Rosas de Ibarguren. 73:303-309, November-December, 1931.

An account of Rosas's rise to power, his exile, and death.

132. Flairoto, Matilde T. Mariano Moreno. Estudio de su personalidad y de su obra. 25:121-124, January, 1917. Reviewed by Diego Luis Molinari.

The reviewer writes—"We doubt that anyone exists who will take this thesis seriously. . . . Our criticism is not of the author. The evil originates in the professors, etc."

133. G. A. Julio A. Roca. 16:95-96, October, 1914.

His work in connection with the campaign against the Indians, the promotion of railways and public works, the organization of the army and navy, encouragement of immigration and education, advancement of peace, etc.

134. Gabriel, José. Tres ensayos. Florentino Ameghino, Augustín Alvarez, José M. Ramos Mejía. 23:277-288, September, 1916.

Ramos Mejía's study of Rosas is discussed.

135. Gandía, Enrique de. Los estudios históricos en la Argentina. 72:200-201, June, 1931. Reviewed by Sigfrido A. Radaelli.

A discussion of the work of Ricardo Levene.

136. ——— Historia del Gran Chaco. 66:425-426, December, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The etymology of the word *chaco*, its location and inhabitants, the voyages of exploration and conquest, its colonization, and a discussion of Paraguay's legal right to the sovereignty thereof.

137. ——— Nueva crónica de la conquista de Tucumán. 75:84-93, May, 1930.

The reviewer gives a summary of the contents of the three volumes of this work by Roberto Levillier and notes several slight errors.

138. García, Juan Agustín. En los jardines del convento. 22:184-187, May, 1916. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

A reconstruction of the colonial period in its moral, social, and economic phases. It contains also some studies of a later period; for example, one on Alberdi.

139. ——— Sombras que pasan. 52:420-421, April, 1926. Reviewed by M. López Palmero.

A series of Hispanic American historical essays. Notable are those treating the morals, intelligence, and family life of the 17th and 18th centuries.

140. García Calderón, Francisco. La creación de un continente. 14:322-325, June, 1914. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

An analysis of the problems of South America; the questions of Panamericanism, Paniberism, and ethnic composition of the American peoples, the autonomy of the various democracies.

141. ——— Les démocraties latines de l'Amérique. In Emilio Ravignani's "La literatura sociológica hispano-americana." 9:312-330, January, 1913.

142. ——— Letras coloniales. 15:221-227, September, 1914.

The influence of history upon South American literature.

143. García Godoy, Federico. Estudios históricos. La anexión a España. 37:25-40, January, 1921.

Stating the reasons why the Dominican Republic again became a Spanish colony in 1861, the author stresses the importance of the role played by Pedro

Santana. He believes Hispanic American solidarity to be necessary in opposition to the political menace of the United States.

144. ———— Rosas y Thiers. 40:512-516, April, 1922.

A discussion of a book by Carlos Pereyra and its rehabilitation of the memory of Rosas. The author notes that Thiers is not treated to the extent that might be expected from the title. He mentions Pereyra's comparison of Rosas and Juárez, and he discusses Ramos Mejía's *Rosas y el doctor Francia*.

145. García Velloso, Enrique. Mariano Moreno. 9:142-163, December, 1912.

The life and work of Mariano Moreno.

146. García Vera, Félix. Biografía del general Juan Martín de Pueyrredón. 15:298, September, 1914. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

147. Gay-Calbó, Enrique. Controamérica intervenida. 44: 317-328, July, 1923.

This article gives a summary of the dangers to which small nations near the United States are exposed and the reasons why the United States is peculiarly interested in Central America. After giving a short historical account of the relations between Central America and the United States, the author recommends a Hispanic American League for the defense of Latin civilization.

148. Giusti, Roberto Fernando. La restauración nacionalista. 5: 139-154, February, 1910.

A discussion of a book by Ricardo Rojas in which the author strives for the formation of a national consciousness. This patriotic ideal is to be accomplished by means of the acquisition of a historical consciousness.

149. Godoi, Juansilvano. Sobre la batalla de Ituzaingó. 49:395-397, March, 1925.

The article deals with the possibility of Bolívar's intervention in La Plata political life.

150. Goenaga, J. M. (With Ernesto de la Cruz, Bartolomé Mitre, and Carlos A. Villanueva). La entrevista de Guayaquil. 29: 128-129, May, 1918.

See Cruz, item 99.

151. Goitía, Rafael A. El primer levantamiento de Corrientes contra Rosas. 65:285-292, August-September, 1929.

The part played by Corrientes in its fight against the tyrant Rosas, culminating in the battle of Pago-Largo.

152. Gondra, Luis Roque. La gloria de Belgrano. 19:5-13, July, 1915.

Belgrano has been accused of being stupid as a general and equally inept as a politician. The author of this article rises to his defense.

153. González, Ariosto D. *La época de Rosas*. 47:322-350, July, 1924.

Narciso Binayán writes an introduction summarizing earlier studies of Rosas. This work discusses the causes for the rise of the caudillos and their importance in the development of the nation. It also describes the personality of Rosas and analyses and praises his work.

154. ———— Ernesto Quesada. 47:156-178, June, 1924.

A discussion of his work in political, economic, and educational matters. The author especially notes his scholarly investigations of the Rosas period of Argentine history.

155. ———— Los partidos tradicionales. 43:408, March, 1923.

Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

The history of the break-down of the *colorado* and *blanco* parties.

156. González Arrili, Bernardo. *Bolívar y Wáshington*. 31:401-405, March, 1919.

In his *Bolívar y Wáshington—un paralelo imposible*, Carlos Pereyra shows Bolívar to be superior to such an extent that his life cannot be compared to that of Washington.

157. ———— Carranza. 35:236-241, June, 1920.

An appreciation of the man's work, written at the time of his assassination.

158. ———— Güemes. 38:204-220, June, 1921.

After a consideration of the conditions of life in Salta at the beginning of the revolutionary period, the author relates the life of Güemes and lists the various studies on the subject.

159. González Calderón, Juan A. (With Florencio C. González).

Urquiza. 6:416, November, 1911. Reviewed.

Two monographs and an introduction. González Calderón writes "La organización nacional." Florencio C. González writes "El general Urquiza antes de Caseros." The introduction is by Benjamín Victorica.

160. González Yramain, Julio. *Urquiza y la constitución del 53*. 16:142-149, November, 1914.

Urquiza is greater as a statesman than as a general. The present constitution of Argentina is his work, and the circumstances of its creation are given. His presidency from 1854 to 1860 was a success. "To Urquiza we owe, then, among many other services, two very great ones; the overthrow of a tyrant . . . and the organization of the republic with the constitution which today rules us."

161. Gundelfinger, Friedrich (pseud. Friedrich Gundolf). *Caesar*. 54:561, December, 1926. Reviewed by I. S.

The evolution of the glory of Caesar as portrayed in ancient and modern works.

162. Herrera, Luis Alberto de. *La revolución francesa y Sud América*. In "La literatura sociológica hispano-americana" by Emilio Ravignani. 9:312-330, January, 1913.

163. Ibarguren, Carlos. *Historias del tiempo clásico*. 49:260-261, February, 1925. Reviewed by R. J. Bruno.

A series of historical-juridical studies on certain periods in Roman history. Titles are "Una proscripción bajo la dictadura de Sylva," "La aristocracia del Imperio Romano y los primeros cristianos," "Una lección de Séneca," "La justicia de Fanio," "Una huelga marítima bajo el reinado de Séptimio Severo."

164. ——— *Historias del tiempo clásico*. 49:371-372, March, 1925.

Reviewed by Raymond Ronze.

The reviewer considers the best of these studies to be "Una proscripción bajo la dictadura de Sylva" with its portrayal of Cicero. He lists other studies in the work.

165. ——— Manuelita Rosas. 51:126-127, September, 1925. Reviewed by Alberto Zum Felde.

Ibarguren not only relates the life of Manuelita Rosas, but he also studies the social and political life in which she moved, and includes a psychological study of her character. Numerous letters are included by way of documentation.

166. ——— Manuelita Rosas. 53:103-114, May, 1926. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

A discussion of other studies on Rosas. This study seems especially important for its psychological analysis of the Rosas family, for its attention to the period of Rosas' exile, and for the inclusion of numerous letters of that period.

167. ——— Manuelita Rosas. 51:261-263, October, 1925. Reviewed by Lindolfo Collor.

"The psychological reconstruction of an epoch." The reviewer stresses Manuelita's place in the political schemes of her father, her relations with Lord Hodwen, etc.

168. Ingenieros, José. *El deán Gregorio Funes*. 29:449-458, August, 1918.

The author relates the life of Funes, his disagreeable personality, and his ambitions.

169. ——— *La psicología social de Hispano-América*. 29:397-398, July, 1918.

A discussion of Carlos Octavio Bunge's *Nuestra América*. Ingenieros stresses the historical value of Bunge's picture of caudillism and his portrayal of Rosas, García Moreno, and Porfirio Díaz.

170. Jaimes Freyre, Ricardo. *Historia del descubrimiento de Tucumán*. 25:272-278, February, 1917. Reviewed by Diego Luis Molinari.

A publication based on a collection of newspaper articles on Tucumán.

171. Jane, Cecil. *Liberty and despotism in Spanish America*. 67:272-273, February, 1930. Reviewed by Carlos Villalobos Domínguez.

172. Jaroschewsky, M. Escenas de la revolución rusa en provincia. 28:463-472, April, 1918.

Anecdotes illustrating the manner in which news of the fall of the aristocracy and the success of the revolution was received in the provinces.

173. Un juicio norteamericano sobre una obra argentina. 38: 283-284, June, 1921.

William Spence Robertson's review of *Lecciones de historia argentina* by Ricardo Levene. From the *Hispanic American historical review* of February, 1921.

174. Julián Juderías. 29:301, June, 1918.

Note on this Spanish historian.

175. Kirkpatrick, Frederick Alexander. Compendio de historia argentina. 73:205-211, October, 1931. Reviewed by Enrique de Gandía.

The errors of this work are noted in the review.

176. ——— A history of the Argentine Republic. 71:311-313, March, 1931. Reviewed by R. R.

The table of contents is given in the review. The work covers Argentine history up to the presidency of Irigoyen.

177. Korn Villafañe, Adolfo. La nueva Argentina y el nacionalismo. 44:458-460, August, 1923.

After listing early Argentine writers on nationalism, the author protests against the work of Leopoldo Lugones on the subject and compares his ideas with the more acceptable ones of Carlos Cossio.

178. Lacoste, Lilia. Una visita al castillo de San José. 27:315-320, November, 1917.

The author has visited this home of Urquiza in Uruguay and recalls the circumstances of the General's death.

179. Laguna, Adolfo. Bolivia en la cuestión del Pacífico. 42:414, November, 1922. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

Bolivia's historical right to a sea coast.

180. Lamarque, Nydia. Mariano Moreno, el jacobino. 72:225-244, July, 1931.

Moreno as a typical revolutionary, his political and economic ideas, his relations with the First Junta, the value of his work. The matter of the execution of the conspirators of Córdoba is discussed, and Moreno is compared with Robespierre.

181. Las Casas, Bartolomé de. Colección de tratados, 1552-1553. 48: 499, December, 1924. Reviewed.

A facsimile edition of those treaties appearing in Seville. Two things stand out in this collection: the legal bases for the liberty of the Indians and the unquestionable bases of the exclusive sovereignty of the Spanish rulers in the Indies with respect to all other monarchs of Christendom.

182. Lavalley, Ricardo Guido. *El general don Tomás Guido y el paso de los Andes*. 25:397-400, March, 1917. Reviewed by Diego Luis Molinari.

The reviewer writes: "The work offends because of its faulty information; it lacks newness and average preparation in its materials."

183. Leguizamón, Martiniano. *La restauración del himno argentino*. 43:398-402, March, 1923. Reviewed by Juan Cánter (hijo).

The origin of the hymn, the alteration of the authentic text, and its restoration.

184. ———. *Los retratos de Ramírez*. 14:225-233, June, 1914.

The author believes that no authentic picture of the caudillo Francisco Ramírez now exists but gives descriptions of his personal appearance by his contemporaries, so he can be "reconstructed."

185. ———. *Urquiza y la casa del acuerdo*. 4:396-400, September, 1909.

Concerning a legislative project to make into a public library the house where the famous pact was signed, so that it might serve as a historical monument.

186. ———. *Urquiza y la casa del acuerdo*. 5:66-69, January, 1910.

Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

Leguizamón combats the belief that Urquiza was a "caudillo bárbaro." The documentation occupies more than two hundred pages.

187. León, Remigio Romero. *La emancipación de Cuenca*. 24:135-136, October, 1916. Reviewed by Dardo Corvalán Mendilaharsu.

The emancipation of this city.

188. Levene, Ricardo. *Causas criminales sobre intentada independencia en el Plata (1805-1806)*. 29:294-295, June, 1918. Reviewed.

A work containing valuable documents and some facsimiles. A review of cases which show early attempts to obtain independence from Spain.

189. ———. *Cedulario de la Real Audiencia de Buenos Aires (1783-1790)*. 66:426-427, December, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

A collection of royal cédulas and dispatches.

190. ———. *Ensayo histórico sobre la Revolución de Mayo*. 44:128-133, May, 1923. Reviewed by Raymond Ronze.

Passing over the heroic aspect of the revolution, in this two volume work Levene considers its political, legal, and economic aspects.

191. ———. *Ensayo histórico sobre la Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*. 41:253-256, June, 1922. Reviewed by Gustavo Gallinal.

The author of this review summarizes, by volumes, the content of this work of Levene.

192. ——— El espíritu de la historia. 3:98-107, August-September, 1908.

There have been two concepts of history; the first, the heroic, in which the nation was subordinate to its heroes; the second, a truly social concept. Carlyle and Taine are representative of these two schools. In regard to the methods of writing history, one finds a gradual suppression of legend and a corresponding increase in that scientific approach to material which includes not only a statement of facts but an interrogation of the civil, political, and social institutions giving rise to them. Factors of race, geography, and economics play their part.

193. ——— Estudios económicos acerca del virreynato del Río de la Plata. 22:94-96, April, 1916. Reviewed.

A sociological approach to the history of the colonial period. The work deals with the character of the commercial legislation of the Indies during this period, the economic dependence of the Plata with respect to Peru and the inter-colonial commerce, the causes of the founding of the vice-royalty of Buenos Aires, the *auto* of the viceroy Cevallos of 1777 favoring free trade, the economic government of the same viceroy, the tax regime in force in the Plata, the economic policy of England in Spanish America, and the economic functions of the colonial institutions in the Plata.

194. ——— Iniciación de la vida pública de Mariano Moreno. 29:294-295. June, 1918. Reviewed.

The author comments upon Moreno's "Disertación jurídica sobre el servicio personal de los indios."

195. ——— Introducción al estudio del derecho indiano. 23:352-353, September, 1916. Reviewed.

In an attempt to explain the history of the last century, the author rewrites colonial history studying the social, political, and economic functions and the juridical organization.

196. ——— Investigaciones acerca de la historia económica del Virreinato del Plata. 63:254-260, March, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The economic condition of Spain at the time of the conquest, the Spanish colonization of America, and the political economy underlying the development of the country.

197. ——— La moneda colonial del Plata. 25:129-130, January, 1917. Reviewed.

With an abundance of documentation, the author discusses this economic phase of history down to 1810.

198. ——— La política económica de España en América y la revolución de 1810. 17:201-205, February, 1915. Reviewed by Dardo Corvalán Mendilaharsu.

The economic background for the political revolution of 1810.

199. ——— La traducción y publicación portuguesa de 1810 de la "Representación de los hacendados" de Moreno. 29:498-525, August, 1918.

Pages 512 to 525 contain translations of three documents dealing with this early movement for free trade.

200. Levillier, Roberto. Antecedentes de política económica en el Río de la Plata. 20:159-170, November, 1915.

In answer to Rómulo Carbia's criticism of his *Diezmos en el Río de la Plata*.

201. ——— Francisco de Aguirre y los orígenes del Tucumán. 1550-1570. 37:101-102, January, 1921. Reviewed by Aníbal Norberto Ponce.

Believing the history of Tucumán in the 16th century to be the Argentine history of the period, the author lists the various works dealing with the time and then discusses Aguirre. The reviewer asserts that the part of the work referring to Aguirre's imprisonment is particularly interesting.

202. ——— Nueva crónica de la conquista del Tucumán. 55:89-93, January, 1927. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

An account of the documentation of this study and of other studies on the same subject is followed by a rather detailed summary of contents. The four main parts of the work treat of the pre-historic times, of the discovery of the provinces, of their settlement, and of their legal organization.

203. ——— Nueva crónica de la conquista del Tucumán. 73:351-353, November-December, 1931. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

Volume 2 of this work covers the decade from 1563 to 1573.

204. ——— Los orígenes argentinos. In "La literatura sociológica hispano-americana." 9:312-330, January, 1913. Reviewed by Emilio Ravignani.

The reviewer gives a summary of the work and much adverse criticism, even while considering it commendable as a whole.

205. ——— El virrey Toledo y el gobernador Cabrera. 71:113-120, February, 1931.

Letters of the viceroy stating his desire for the founding of a town in the valley of Salta by the governor of Tucumán, Don Gerónimo Luis de Cabrera and his disapproval of further conquests of land for the crown.

206. Lizondo Borda, Manuel. Historia de la gobernación del Tucumán. 66:423, December, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

A list of other works on Tucumán, followed by an account of its history in the 16th century.

207. Lugones, Leopoldo. Historia de Sarmiento. 5:299-301, May, 1911. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

208. ——— El imperio jesuítico. 2:327-332, May-June, 1908. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

A detailed discussion of this historical essay on the Jesuits in Paraguay.

209. Magnasco, Osvaldo. Prólogo al "Nerón" de Agote. 8:169-186, July, 1912.

After mentioning early works on Nero by Tacitus and Suetonius, Luis Agote studies the man from a psycho-analytical point of view.

210. Mantilla, Manuel Florencio. Crónica histórica de la provincia de Corrientes. 63:117-121, January-February, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

This work treats of the founding of the city of Corrientes, the conquest and peopling of the territory, the colonial development, the Revolution of May, the period of anarchy from 1814 to 1821 and of provincial organization from 1821 to 1830, and of the isolation of the province between the years 1829 and 1839.

211. Márof, Tristán. La justicia del inca. 55:259-260, February, 1927. Reviewed by Carlos Villalobos Domínguez.

A criticism of the miserable social state of Bolivia with the proposed reform measure of a return to the wisdom of the Incas and a nationalization of the Bolivian mines. The reviewer asserts that the author has no proper knowledge of economics.

212. ——— Sobre un artículo de Alcides Arguedas. 54:568-571, December, 1926.

After a most unfavorable personal criticism of Arguedas, the author states that the cause for Bolivia's unfortunate condition is merely economic disorganization.

213. Marquina, Rafael. El nacionalismo catalán. 46:507-524, April, 1924.

Political and historical events make patent the existence of Cataluña as an entity. Her demand for autonomy is an attempt to preserve that identity. Primo de Rivera was popular in Cataluña since he made change possible.

214. Martínez Paz, Enrique. Dalmacio Vélez Sársfield y el código civil argentino. 25:401-403, March, 1917. Reviewed by Santiago Baqué.

A bibliography of works on Vélez Sársfield, a biography of Vélez Sársfield, a discussion of the civil code and its historical background.

215. Max Henríquez Ureña. 37:134-135, January, 1921.

Henríquez Ureña travels through Hispanic America in search of support of the Dominican Republic in its difficulties with the United States.

216. Meinhold, Hans. Sábado y domingo. 69:167-169, July-August, 1930. Reviewed by José Luis Romero.

The reviewer notes the historical value in this study of the day of celebration of the Sabbath.

217. Mistral, Gabriela (pseud. of Lucila Godoy Alcayaga). *El presidente Obregón y la situación de México*. 44:307-313, July, 1923.

After describing Obregón's personal appearance and character, Gabriela Mistral discusses his agrarian reforms, his educational reforms, and his dispute with the United States over oil rights.

218. Mitre, Bartolomé (With Ernesto de la Cruz, J. M. Goenaga, and Carlos A. Villanueva). *La entrevista de Guayaquil*. 29:128-129, May, 1918.

See Cruz, item 99.

219. Molinari, Diego Luis. *El caso Zeballos y "La nationalité."* 20:213-214, November, 1915. Reviewed by Santiago Baqué.

A criticism of Estanislao Severo Zeballos' study of Spain and her law, discussing especially chapter 21 which deals with the antecedents of Spanish law in relation to nationality.

220. ———. *Carta abierta al señor I. . .* 17:307-316, March, 1915.

Refutation of criticism of his "*La representación de los hacendados*" de Mariano Moreno.

221. ———. *Ciencias sociales*. 25:537-541, April, 1917.

An adverse criticism of *Vélez Sársfield y el código civil argentino* by Enrique Martínez Paz.

222. ———. *Dalmacio Vélez Sársfield y el código civil argentino*. 26:454-462, July, 1917.

Molinari insists upon the accuracy of his earlier study of this book despite Enrique Martínez Paz's subsequent remarks.

223. ———. *Dalmacio Vélez Sársfield y el código civil argentino*. 27:114-116, September, 1917.

The continuation of an argument with Enrique Martínez Paz in regard to certain manuscripts which are or are not in a local library.

224. ———. *Mito Canning y doctrina Monroe*. 17:86-94, January, 1915.

A refutation of Charles Hitchcock Sherrill's book *The Monroe Doctrine and the Canning myth*. Molinari asserts that the world was not interested in supporting Argentine independence until after it had been won by her own efforts. The North American attitude was far more a matter of "Hands up" than "Hands off" as shown in the cases of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Nicaragua. . . . Contrasting the attitude of Canning and Monroe, Molinari concludes that it was the English policy which determined the conduct of the Argentine government.

225. Monner Sans, José María. *La historia considerada como género literario*. 39:528-529, December, 1921. Reviewed by Aníbal Norberto Ponce.

An attempt to demonstrate that without art there can be no true history.

226. Morales, Ernesto. *La ciudad encantada de la Patagonia*. 73:257-270, November-December, 1931.

The historical background of the legend of the Ciudad de los Césares, its supposed location, a list of different accounts of the city and of the various expeditions of exploration.

227. Moreau, Gabriel S. *La obra histórica de Ingenieros*. 51 bis:655-662, December, 1925.

In his *La evolución de las ideas argentinas*, Ingenieros states his beliefs in regard to the economic, political, social, and cultural evolution of society and the factors behind that evolution. *Los tiempos nuevos* is an expression of his nationalism as well as a sociological interpretation of the results of the World War and a study of the social experiment of the Russian Revolution. His central political idea is the perfection of the system of representation in order to make popular sovereignty effective.

228. Moreno, Baltasar. *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo. Los entierros en Buenos Aires*. 10:54-58, March, 1913.

How funerals were conducted during the middle of the 19th century. One most interesting proviso states how Rosas had ordered all funeral coaches to be painted red, so that even in death one might proceed *federalmente*.

229. Moret, Alejandro. *Historia antigua: Oriente*. 60:278-279, May, 1928. Reviewed.

A manual of history.

230. *Navegantes y exploradores italianos*. 59:110-111, January, 1928. Reviewed by L. S.

The need of such a complete collection which shall provide generally unavailable texts to specialists and pleasing reading to the general public.

231. Nieto del Río, Félix. *Una historia de la América Latina*. 34:383-388, March, 1920.

An adverse criticism of *A history of Latin America* by William Warren Sweet, listing the errors made in the treatment of the period since Independence.

232. Noé, Julio. *El momento heróico*. 8:202-208, July, 1912.

The origins of the third Italy, after that of Rome and of the Renaissance of the 15th century. It is the rationalist and liberal period of the 18th century "augmented by historical experience and corrected, in its abstraction and intellectualism, by the romantic manner and the idealist philosophy of the first half of the 19th century." The author then discusses the modern spirit of nationality.

233. O'Leary, Juan Emiliano. *Nuestra epopeya*. 33:430-431, November, 1919. Reviewed by Luis Pascarella.

A history of the Paraguayan War by an author who favored López.

234. Orgaz, Raúl A. *Córdoba en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. 27:162-175, October, 1917.

The evocation of colonial life by means of accounts of travellers, supplemented with documents of the time.

235. Oribe, Aquiles B. Cerrito de la victoria. Su medio ambiente político social. Durante la guerra grande. Estudio histórico, narrativo. 23:86-91, July, 1916. Reviewed by Dardo Corvalan Mendilaharsu.

An account of the time of Rosas and of the siege of Montevideo.

236. Otero, José Pacífico. L'Argentine devant l'histoire. 45:369-374, November, 1923. Reviewed by Juan Cánter (hijo).

The reviewer disapproves of this study of the steps which the revolution produced at the time of the birth of the Argentine democracy.

237. Outes, Félix Faustino. Cartas y planos inéditos de los siglos XVII y XVIII y del primer decenio del XIX. 73:361-362, November-December, 1931. Reviewed by Enrique de Gandía.

Fifty reproductions of unedited works of the 17th and 18th centuries and the first decade of the 19th.

238. Palomeque, Alberto. Mi madre y Alejandro Magariños Cervantes a los diez y nueve años de edad. 23:35-46, July, 1916.

A family record of experiences in revolutionary times—exile, memories of the battle of India Muerta, impressions of Rosas, and an account of the Anglo-French intervention in the Argentine.

239. ———. La negociación de paz con el imperio del Brazil. 15:233-246, September, 1914.

The negotiations of the Argentine plenipotentiaries Guido and Balcarce in the court of Brazil in an attempt to obtain peace. Pages from a book called *Guerra de la Argentina y el Brasil. El general Rivera y la campaña de Misiones*. 1828.

240. Papeles viejos. 9:203, December, 1912. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A collection of facsimiles of all the newspapers published in the country from the *Telógrafo Mercantil* of 1801 to *El Ateneo Argentino* of 1872. It is preceded by a study of José Antonio Pillado called "La imprenta y los diarios antiguos en la Argentina."

241. Parra Pérez, C. Bolívar. 62:267-271, November, 1928. Reviewed by Ramón Doll.

His ideas as expressed to the Congress of Angostura in 1818 and in the Bolivian Constitution.

- *242. Payró, Roberto Jorge. Novelas de la historia. 56:453-480, July, 1927.

The mysterious lost cities of South America—el Dorado, Parima, Quivira, Paititi, Enim, Moxo, Parú, Trapalanda, Jungulo, Manoa, Omagua, Guaypó, la Ciudad Encantada, la Ciudad de los Césares. . . . The interest of missionary, governor, and adventuring conquistador in these romantic cities. A typical description of such a city, and a list of 71 expeditions in search of El Dorado and the Ciudad de los Césares in the period from 1509 to 1800.

243. Peña, David. *El Brasil y la Argentina*. 42:5-11, September, 1922.

"The work realized by Brazil in her first century of independent life." Her relations with Argentina.

244. ———— *Elogio de Avellaneda*. 27:14-44, September, 1917.

Personal memories of Avellaneda; an account of his life and work.

245. ———— *Vicente Fidel López*. 34:284-299, March, 1920.

The life, literary, scientific, political, and historical work of Vicente Fidel López.

246. Pereyra, Carlos. *Hernán Cortés y la epopeya del Anáhuac*. 27:283, October, 1917. Reviewed.

A work of popularization.

247. ———— *Rosas enseñándole a Monroe los rudimentos del monroísmo*. 25:520-531, April, 1917.

The active patriotism of Rosas in the matter of the Anglo-French blockade as contrasted with the ineffectiveness of the Monroe doctrine.

248. ———— *Tejas*. (*La primera desmembración de Méjico*). 29:129-130, May, 1918. Reviewed.

249. Pérez Petit, Víctor. *El Ateneo del Uruguay*. 43:145-168, February, 1923.

A discussion of the political background of the years 1876 to 1886 followed by an account of the history of the Ateneo with its struggle for religious liberty and its political work.

250. ———— *El Ateneo del Uruguay*. 43:305-331, March, 1923.

The cultural work of the Ateneo—its *Anales*, the lectures it sponsored, its library.

251. Perkins, Jorge Walter. *La política de Inglaterra y Estados Unidos en la independencia de las colonias sudamericanas. Monroe-Canning*. 16:116-125, November, 1914.

The change in the attitude of the United States before and after the recognition of the independence of the South American colonies and a comparison of the attitudes of the United States and of England.

252. Pittard, Eugenio. *Las razas y la historia*. 51:119-120, September, 1925. Reviewed.

"An ethnographical introduction to history."

253. Ponce, Aníbal Norberto. *Avellaneda*. 36:236-237, October, 1920. Reviewed by Julio Irazusta.

Lists other studies on Avellaneda.

254. Porras Troconis, Gabriel. *Una visita a la quinta de Bolívar*. 34:378-382, March, 1920.

- *255. Probst, Juan. *La educación en la República Argentina durante la época colonial.* 38:35-55, May, 1921.

Two factors determine an educational system—the spirit and conditions of the time. The first is studied in its slow evolution down into the 18th century; it is considered in its religious aspect as well as in the political ideas influencing the relationship of Spain to her colonies. The second factor is analyzed with respect to the geographic, economic, and ethnic aspects. The article contains such interesting items as a consideration of the Spanish desire for educational superiority over the creoles, the state of education among negroes and Indians, the influence of the church in early colonial education, and the gradual change to secular education.

- *256. ———. *La educación en la República Argentina durante la época colonial.* 38:236-269, June, 1921.

After a discussion of education for women, the author considers elementary education for boys, the teachers, and such details of the operation of schools as the technique of opening a school, the entrance requirements, curricula, methods of teaching, texts used, discipline, hours of attendance, and inspection. The influence of religion on education is discussed and a detailed consideration of the various courses given in institutions for higher education, the location of such institutions, and their specialties.

257. Quesada, Ernesto. *Avellaneda irónico.* 26:393-404, July, 1917.

An analysis of his personality in this respect as judged by extracts from the papers of the time.

258. ———. *Avellaneda juzgado por Peña.* 27:9-13, September, 1917.

“There fell to the lot of Avellaneda one of the periods which seem destined to try the best tempered man. . . .”

259. ———. *La guerra civil de 1841 y la tragedia de Achá.* 25:565-566, April, 1917. Reviewed.

Who was responsible for the death of General Achá?

260. ———. *Lamadrid y la coalición del norte.* 55:93-97, January, 1927. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

A sympathetic portrayal of Rosas in relation to his time and an unsympathetic one of Lamadrid's relationship to Rosas. The review summarizes the book.

261. ———. *Lavalle y la batalla de Quebracho Herrado.* 56:573-574, July, 1927. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The documentation of this work is noted, together with the fact that Quesada has acquired the private library of General Angel Pacheco.

262. ———. *Minucias históricas.* 44:195-205, June, 1923.

A list of errors in Dr. Alberto Palomeque's *Alvear; memoriales del año 15 y sucesos del año 20.*

263. ———. *El significado histórico de Moreno.* 25:565-566, April, 1917. Reviewed.

The author believes Moreno to be the only one in his time to comprehend that the federal system of government is the only practical one in the Argentine.

264. ———— *La vida colonial argentina. Médicos y hospitales.* 25:565-566, April, 1917. Reviewed.

Colonial life from the medical aspect.

265. Radaelli, Sigfrido A. *Capítulos de historia argentina.* 74:93-94, January, 1932. Reviewed by Rómulo D. Carbia.

266. ———— *Un incidente de la época colonial.* 71:66-72, January, 1931.

Liniers's controversy with the Cabildo over his appointment of his brother-in-law, Don Lázaro de Rivera, as ambassador to the court of Braganza.

267. Rahola, Carles. *Els emigrats politics en la historia.* 61:133-135, July, 1928. Reviewed by Juan Torrendell.

Political emigration from 1791 to 1831, different times of emigration, and other works of the author.

268. Ravignani, Emilio. *Cuatro opúsculos.* 24:419, December, 1916. Reviewed.

The third study is entitled "Creación y permanencia del virreinato del Río de la Plata."

269. ———— *La literatura sociológica hispano-americana.* 9:312-330, January, 1913.

Reviews of four books: *Los orígenes argentinos* by Roberto Levillier; *Les démocraties latines de l'Amérique* by Francisco García Calderón; *La revolución francesa y Sud América* by Luis Alberto de Herrera; and *Blasón de plata* by Ricardo Rojas.

270. ———— *Memoria de la sección de historia, 1920-1921.* 41:129, May, 1922. Reviewed.

A report of the work of this department of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters; the new documents at its disposal, the influence of its work, the success of its publications.

271. ———— "Nuestra América" y la personalidad de Carlos Octavio Bunge. 29:399-403, July, 1918.

The sociological character of this historical work of Bunge is stressed.

272. ———— *La revolución de mayo y el año 1820.* 35:210-217, June, 1920.

Mariano Moreno formulated the revolutionary definition. From 1810 to 1820 was the period of preparation for the arrival of democracy as an effective force. In 1820 took place the transition from the dying colonial regime to that of national government.

273. Rebaudi, Arturo. *Guerra del Paraguay.* 29:130, May, 1918. Reviewed.

The reviewer regards this as a disorderly work abounding, however, in documents. The author is violently anti-López.

274. Reyes, César. *El sitio de la Rioja de 1862*. 23:91-94, July, 1916.
Reviewed by Dardo Corvalán Mendilaharsu.

The account of an eye-witness of this siege.

275. Ribot, Alexandre. *Lettres à un ami. Souvenirs de ma vie politique*. 47:248, June, 1924. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

Memories of the time of the Third Republic in France.

276. Ricard, Robert. *Documents des bibliothèques espagnoles relatifs au Brésil*. 47:116, May, 1924. Reviewed by Juan Cánter (hijo).

The two parts of this volume treat of the documents in the National Library and of those in the Archivo General de Indias.

277. ———. *El fin del imperio español en América según un libro francés*. 42:390-401, November, 1922.

A discussion of a book by Marius André. His purpose was to make evident the true character of the American Revolution which, while carried on in the name of the king and under the guise of religion, was really only a civil war between Americans wishing either the continuance of the Spanish regime under Napoleon, or independence under Fernando VII. The author discusses the influence of other countries upon the Argentine revolution and also the influence of the religious.

278. Richet, Charles. *Compendio de historia universal*. 54:410, November, 1926. Reviewed by Emilio Suárez Calimano.

279. *Rio Branco*. 7:157-158. February, 1912.

The significance of the life of this Brazilian chancellor.

280. Rivarola, Horacio G. *Las transformaciones de la sociedad argentina*. 6:70-72. Reviewed by Coriolano Alberini.

The evolution of Argentine society since 1853.

281. Rivarola, Rodolfo. *Filosofía, política, historia*. 27:117-119, September, 1917. Reviewed by Alberto Palcos.

Two lectures. In the first, Dr. Rivarola proposes to demonstrate that philosophy creates a political system and such a system creates history. The other considers "the present state of politics and studies of philosophy and letters."

282. ———. *Mitre*. 38:546, August, 1921. Reviewed by Aníbal Norberto Ponce.

An attempt to explain Mitre's rise to power in the ten year period after the battle of Caseros.

283. Rivera Campos, Julián. *Historia argentina y americana*. 44:96-100, May, 1923. Reviewed by Juan Cánter (hijo).

A school text.

284. Rojas, Nerio A. *Psicología de Sarmiento*. 22:306-308, June, 1916. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

Psychological study of a leading character in Argentine history.

285. Rojas, Ricardo. *Bibliografía de Sarmiento*. 6:77-79, July, 1911.
Reviewed by Julio Noé.

The reviewer feels that the students collaborating with Rojas in this work did not know enough about the great Argentine president and author to do an accurate bibliography of his work, but that nevertheless the effort deserves praise.

286. ———. *Blasón de plata*. 8:228-235, July, 1912. Reviewed by
Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

His purpose is to arouse a feeling of national consciousness by means of the contemplation of tradition. In this "spiritual history of the country" he gets only as far as the gaucho in his attempt to demonstrate the *perpetuación indígena*.

287. ———. *Blasón de plata*, in "La literatura sociológica hispano-americana." 9:312-330, January, 1913. Reviewed by Emilio Ravignani.

288. ———. *Historia de la bandera*. 19:316, September, 1915. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A complete study of the conditions and time in which the flag was produced.

289. ———. *Sarmiento evocado ante la juventud universitaria de la Plata*. 7:70-71, January, 1912. Reviewed by R. G.

A review of a speech.

290. Romero, José Luis. *Los hombres y la historia en Groussac*. 65:107-112, July, 1929.

Groussac encouraged profound investigation on definite historical topics. His *El doctor don Diego de Alcorta* and *Don Pedro de Mendoza* are discussed.

291. Ronze, Raymond. "La nueva crónica de la conquista del Tucumán," de Roberto Levillier. 72:210-212, June, 1931.

This second volume covers the period from 1563 to 1573. It treats especially of the founding of Córdoba and of General Francisco de Aguirre.

292. Ruíz Guiñazú, Enrique. *Groussac historiador y crítico*. 65:57-62, July, 1929.

The severity of Groussac's criticism as an indubitable stimulus to scholarly historical work.

293. ———. *La magistratura indiana*. 27:277-278, October, 1917.
Reviewed.

The author gives a historical sketch of the audiencia and explains how it functioned. Besides treating of the various officials, he discusses colonial legislation. Documents are included in an appendix to the work.

294. Saavedra, Osvaldo. *Sobre Lavalle y Rosas*. 11:52-55, July, 1913.

Rosas was the legal ruler of the country; Lavalle, an heroic warrior of independence. The author's conclusion is: Rosas is admirable as a "governmental concretion at strife with all rebellions. . . . I believe that he governed as events decreed and that his figure in history has the magnitude of his chaotic epoch."

295. Sáenz Peña, Roque. 15:119-121, August, 1914.

His place in Argentine history.

296. ———— *Escritos y discursos*. 14:206-208, May, 1914. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

This first volume includes only his international actuation. The reviewer gives a summary of the discourse on the Zollverein. The other works in the volume refer to the work of the author at the Hague, in the South American congress of private international law, in the ministry of foreign affairs, in his diplomatic mission to the governments of Italy and Switzerland, in his visit to Peru, in the arbitration between Venezuela and the United States, in the affairs of the jurisdiction of the Plata, and in the international institute of agriculture.

297. ———— *Escritos y discursos del doctor Roque Sáenz Peña*. 19:223-224, August, 1915. Reviewed by Santiago Baqué.

In one of his speeches Sáenz Peña said that he was more preoccupied by the moral and intellectual progress of the country than by its material progress. Here is the essence of the program of Sáenz Peña.

298. Sagarna, Antonio. *El hombre del pronunciamiento de la liberación y de la organización*. 68:5-16, April, 1930.

Folco Testena's poem to Urquiza moves Sagarna to disagree with his portrayal and to discuss the excellent qualities and accomplishments of Urquiza.

299. Salaverría, José María. *La otra faz de Rosas*. 72:131-138, June, 1931.

Ibarguren's rehabilitation of Rosas. The reviewer notes the affection Rosas inspired among many, his patriotism, and his desire that his memory be vindicated in Argentina.

300. Silva Castro, Raúl. *El retorno a Lastarria*. 69:49-55, July-August, 1930.

Lastarria's conception of the way history should be written.

301. Soiza Reilly, Juan José de. *El gran ciudadano*. 5:304-305, May, 1911. Reviewed by A. de L.

A defense of José Batlle y Ordóñez, president of the Republic of Uruguay.

302. Soriano, Rodrigo. *Los últimos días del Zar*. 56:181-188, May, 1927.

How and when the Russian royal family died.

303. Suárez, José León. *Carácter de la revolución americana*. 28:278-279, February, 1918. Reviewed.

The author does not believe the purpose of the American revolutionists to have been the attaining of independence, but the causing of certain liberal reforms. He believes the secret of South American progress to be in an ever more complete severance with the backward life of Spain.

304. Suárez, Luis F. *Corona fúnebre*. 1:272, November, 1907. Reviewed.

A collection of material written on General Mitre.

305. Suárez, Sofia. El fenómeno sociológico del trabajo industrial en las misiones jesuíticas. 35:539-540, August, 1920. Reviewed.

A useful review because of its long table of contents.

306. Taboada, Gaspar. Los Taboada. 66:424-425, December, 1929. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

An analysis of the different periods in Argentine history and an account of the services rendered by the Taboada family from 1850 to 1860.

307. Tejera, Emiliano. Los restos de Colón en Santa Domingo y Los dos restos de Cristóbal Colón. 54:560-561, December, 1926. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

The reviewer regards this as a scholarly work.

308. Terán, Juan Bautista. El descubrimiento de América en la historia de Europa. 24:415-417, December, 1916. Reviewed by Alfredo Colmo.

The discovery as a result of the social and economic transformations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

309. ———. El nacimiento de la América Española. 62:389-393, December, 1928. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

A careful compilation of documents, especially of laws and royal cédulas. A summary of the topics it treats is to be found in this review.

310. Testena, Folco. El innovador. José Batlle y Ordóñez. 28:455-462, April, 1918.

The outstanding statesman and the creator of modern Uruguay was Batlle y Ordóñez rather than Artigas. The author then discusses the progressive laws he promoted and the creative aspect of his work in general.

311. Torres, Luis María. La administración de temporalidades en el Río de la Plata. 28:131, January 1918. Reviewed.

312. ———. Manual de historia de la civilización argentina. 26:656-657, August, 1917. Reviewed.

An attempt to rewrite Argentine history in accord with the results of newer investigations.

313. Torres Lanzas, Pedro. Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, etc., del Virreinato de Buenos Aires, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias. 39:135, September, 1921. Reviewed.

According to Dr. Ravignani's introduction this catalogue and the reproductions may well serve to supplement the more pretentious works of Humboldt, Jomard, Santarem, Kretschmer, Marcelle, Nordenskiöld, Harriette, Stevenson, Thachner, Río Branco, etc.

314. Ugarte, Manuel. El imperialismo en Grecia y en Roma. 70:5-23, October, 1930.

An outline of the course of Greek and Roman imperialism to serve as an example to Hispanic America in her relations with the United States.

315. ——— El porvenir de la América Latina. 5:301-304, May, 1911. Reviewed by Alfredo Lorenzo Palacios.

316. Uriburu, José Evaristo. Historia del general Arenales. 49:111-112, January, 1925. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

This review summarizes the book and explains who Arenales was. The book contains an appendix with documents.

317. Urién, Carlos María. Impresiones y recuerdos. Un contemporáneo. El general Lucio Victorio Mansilla. 14:320-321, June, 1914. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

An intimate portrayal of General Mansilla.

318. Urquía, Delfino. Artigas, en su silencio y su ostracismo voluntarios. 27:539-547, December, 1917. Reviewed by Diego Luis Molinari.

The author believes Artigas' silence about the conduct of Uruguayan affairs during his life in Paraguay to be due to his lack of agreement with the policy of his successors. The work contains an appendix with documents.

319. Urquiza, Alfredo F. de. Campañas de Urquiza. 49:112-113, January, 1925. Reviewed by Juan Rómulo Fernández.

A discussion of Urquiza's military efficiency. The reviewer considers the greatest importance of the work to lie in the well documented discussion of Urquiza's military campaigns. The part played by Rivera is also discussed, and the entire work summarized in the review.

320. Urquiza, Justo José de. Vayan a traírme [sic] a Rosas. 22:178-179, May, 1916.

321. Valdés, Carmelo B. Tradiciones riojanas. 22:308, June, 1916. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

The work begins with the time of the conquerors and ends with the story of the *montoneras* that rose after the death of El Chacho.

322. Vallenilla Lanz, Laureano. La Argentina juzgada en los demás países de América. 27:369-378, November, 1917.

This Venezuelan historian disagrees with the remarks of Ricardo Rojas in his *La Argentinidad* in regard to the significance of the part played by the Argentine in the winning of the independence of the continent.

323. Vedia y Mitre, Mariano de. El deán Funes en la historia argentina. 5:71-72, January, 1910. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

A biographical study.

324. ——— Pueyrredón y la diplomacia de su tiempo. 11:225-242, September, 1913.

The condition of affairs when Pueyrredón came into power, his relations with Brazil and Europe and Rivadavia, and a general evaluation of his work.

325. Villanueva, Carlos A. (With Ernesto de la Cruz, J. M. Goenaga, and Bartolomé Mitre). *La entrevista de Guayaquil*. 29:128-129, May, 1918.

See Cruz, item 99.

326. Villoldo, Juan Antonio. *Ingenieros historiador*. 51 bis:649-654, December, 1925.

Ingenieros' historical works on the revolution and the restoration. His philosophical conception of history.

327. Wells, Herbert George. *Esquema de la historia*. 51:111-113, September, 1925. Reviewed by F. R.

Starting from a comprehension of present social disorder, the author proposes reform through education, especially stressing such subjects as history, biology, and philosophy.

328. Ycaeste-Larios, Félix. *Las corrientes morales en la Argentina*. 32:9-19, May, 1919.

A consideration of moral doctrines in the Argentine from the colonial period to the present. A bibliography of works on Agustín Alvarez, and a list of his works.

329. Zanné, Jerónimo. *El estado español y las nacionalidades ibéricas*. 31:74-93, January, 1919.

A description of the growth of a desire for autonomy in various Spanish states with special reference to Cataluña.

330. Zavala-Muniz, Justino. *Crónica de Muniz*. 38:275-276, June, 1921. Reviewed by Julio Aramburu.

A revindication of the memory of the Uruguayan caudillo Justino Muniz.

331. Zimmermann Saavedra, A. *Don Cornelio de Saavedra*. 5:69-70, January, 1910. Reviewed by Roberto Fernando Giusti.

The reviewer says that the author "does not propose to write the history of the illustrious president of the first junta . . . but to present only a documented historical sketch."

332. Zorrilla de San Martín, Juan. *La epopeya de Artigas*. 29:295-296, June, 1918. Reviewed.

"A panegyric."

333. Zubillaga, Juan Antonio. *Notas sobre historia*. La obra del doctor Luis Melián Lafinur. 20:5-35, October, 1915.

There are three themes in this work; the first treats of Juan Carlos Gómez; the second, the history of his period; the third, Artigas and his significance in the independence of Uruguay.

334. Zuñiga, Antonio R. *La logia Lautaro y la independencia de América*. 43:393-398, March, 1923. Reviewed by Juan Cánter (hijo).

The influence of masonry upon the independence of America. The reviewer gives recent bibliography on the subject.

The following titles are primarily literary, but are centered upon historical personages or events.

1. Albatrelli, Paolo. *I conquistatori*. 53:546-547, August, 1926.

Reviewed by Folco Testena.

A historical novel, important for its picture of Italian life in the period after the victory of the Piave and the triumph of Facism.

2. Arguedas, Alcides. *Vida criolla*. 10:90, March, 1913. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A novel of customs.

3. Arizaga, D. A. *La divisa punzó*. 65:151-156, July, 1929.

A summary of Groussac's historical play about Rosas.

4. Barco Centenera, Martín del. *Argentina y conquista del Río de la Plata*. 9:203, December, 1912. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

The reviewer believes that the nullity of this work as a poem is compensated for by its "appreciable historical value."

5. Barreda, Ernesto Mario. *Buenos Aires, madre nuestra*. 45:427-436, December, 1923.

An evocation of the history of Buenos Aires.

6. Blanco Fombona, Rufino. *Historia del ogro yanqui y de la Caperucita isleña*. 37:137-143, February, 1921.

United States invasion of the Dominican Republic told à la Little Red Riding-hood.

7. *El centenario del himno*. 10:327-329, May, 1913.

8. Chueco, Manuel Cosme. *La Argentiada*. 11:66-73, July, 1913.

A new edition of this poem written in the second half of the nineteenth century. It describes the Plata region, gives the episode of Juan Díaz de Solís, contains love stories, accounts of Indians and of the capture of a Spanish fort with the captivity and sad end of Lucía Miranda and her husband. The value of the work as a historical source is increased in this edition by a vocabulary of Indian words used in the poem and a table of chronological dates and historical notes.

9. Gálvez, Manuel. *Los caminos de la muerte*. 63:146-149, January-February, 1929. Reviewed by Rafael Cansinos Assens.

One of three historical novels of the war of 1865 against the troops of the dictator of Paraguay. The others are *Humaitá* and *Tierra de espectros*.

10. ———. *Humaitá*. 64:272-274, May, 1929. Reviewed by Ramón Doll.

A novel of López and the Paraguayan war.

11. Gancedo (hijo), Alejandro. *Juan Facundo Quiroga*. 1:205-206, October, 1907. Reviewed by Alfredo Antonio Bianchi.

A review of a historical play.

12. Gerchunoff, Alberto. Los gauchos judíos. 4:333-335, July-August, 1909.

A story of the organization of the Hebrew colonies in Entre Ríos.

13. Giménez Pastor, Arturo. El himno nacional. 20:309-311, December, 1915. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

A study of the Argentine national hymn in its poetical and musical phases with the conclusion that its merit is deserved from more than merely patriotic motives.

14. Giménez Pastor, Arturo. Sobre teatro histórico. 34:163-178, February, 1920.

Concerning his play *El teniente coronel fray Luis Beltrán* and its historical background.

15. Giménez Pastor, Arturo. El teniente coronel fray Luis Beltrán. 35:517-518, August, 1920. Reviewed by Félix Gallo.

16. Groussac, Paul. La divisa punzó. 45:228-229, October, 1923. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

A historical drama of Rosas and his time.

17. Leguizamón, Martiniano. La cinta colorada. 23:209-210, August, 1916. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

Legends of the land, heard in the author's youth.

18. Lugones, Leopoldo. A campo y cielo. 10:225-235, May, 1913. Ideas on the gaucho, his origin, life, calamities, and disappearance.

19. Mas y Pi, Juan. Un novelista del criollismo brasileño. Alcides Maya. 8:145-152, June, 1912.

Gaucha stories and their historical background.

20. Obligado, Pastor. Tradiciones argentinas. 11:193, August, 1913. Reviewed by Alvaro Melián Lafinur.

Twenty stories of Argentine life.

21. Orozco, Manuel A. "La divisa punzó" vista por un provinciano. 50:230-236, June, 1925.

The author feels that the memory of Rosas has been as excessively rehabilitated as that of Lamadrid has been defamed.

22. Payró, Roberto Jorge. Divertidas aventuras del nieto de Juan Moreira. 6:407-410, November, 1911. Reviewed by Julio Noé.

The reviewer believes this novel to be "the entire history of Argentina from the year 1853 to the present."

23. Pedro, Valentín de. El caudillo. 49:524-526, April, 1925. Reviewed by Andrés Ovejero.

A drama with Facundo Quiroga as its hero.

24. Sánchez, José Manuel. Arauco libre. El nuevo Caupolicán o El bravo patriota de Caracas. 48:119-120, September, 1924. Reviewed.
25. Saraví, Guillermo. El supremo entrerriano. 64:402-404, June, 1929. Reviewed by Alvaro Yunque.
A historical poem on the caudillo Pancho Ramírez.
26. Toutain, Jacques. Liberté (Vie et mort de Mme. Roland). 37:409-410, March, 1921. Reviewed by Homero M. Guglielmini.
A historical drama centering on the Girondist revolution.

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NOTES

The Descriptive Bibliography of the Brazilian Section of the Duke University Library ([Durham, 1934]), by Alan K. Manchester of Duke University, has been issued recently from the Duke University Press. This first appeared in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIII. Nos. 2 and 4 (May and November, 1933). A cover title page, table of contents, and index have been added. In reprinting, the note numbers of the second installment were retained instead of running those numbers continuously with the numbers of the first part, but it would probably have run into too much expense for any advantage gained. It is convenient to have this excellent bibliography in a single format. It should prove most useful to all students of Brazilian history. Duke University has a fine collection of Brazilianana, which places it well to the front for books of this nature. Dr. Manchester has an enviable knowledge of Brazilian bibliography.

Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, of Tacubaya, Mexico City, has compiled a *Bibliografía de Don José Cecilio del Valle* who put the finishing touches on the declaration of independence of Central America on September 13, 1821. This distinguished man was born in Choluteca, Honduras, November 22, 1780, was educated in Guatemala, and became a lawyer at the age of 23. He filled many offices, and was a candidate for the office of president of Central America in the elections of 1834. He died on March 2 of that year. The bibliography was compiled to mark the centenary of his death. The pamphlet is divided into four parts, as follows: *Bibliografía de José Cecilio del Valle*; *Iconografía*; *Bibliografía sobre Valle*; and *Efemerides*. The printing of the edition of 500 copies was concluded on March 2, 1934, at the expense of Dr. J. Edgardo Valenzuela, Minister for Honduras in Mexico. The imprint is "Ediciones de 'Número', Mexico, MCMXXXIV". The compilation has been done with the usual care of its compiler, who has long been engaged in bibliographical work.

As an appendix to his volume *Religion del Imperio de los Incas* (Paris, 1916) the erudite Ecuadorian scholar J. Jijón y Caamaño, has edited the hitherto unpublished manuscript of José de Atienza,

"clérigo presbítero, criado de la Serenissima Reina de Portugal, Bachiller en cánones" entitled *Compendio historial del Estado de los Indios del Peru, con mucha doctrina y cosas notables de ritos, costumbres e inclinaciones que tienen con docta doctrina y avisos para los que viven ante estos neofitos*. It was "dirigido" by Atienza "al honorabilísimo señor Licenciado Don Juan de Ovando, del consejo de estado, presidente del Real consejo de las Indias". The manuscript dates from the late sixteenth century; and the copy existing in the Muñoz Collection of the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, was utilized by Señor Jijón y Caamaño. This is a copy of an old copy in the library of the Cathedral of Palencia. There is also a copy in the New York Public Library, which formerly belonged to Lord Kingsborough and the Americanist E. H. Squier owned another.

Morris Steggerda, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, published through the Institution in August, 1932, a technical monograph entitled *Anthropometry or adult Mayan Indians: A Study of their physical and physiological Characteristics* (pp. iv, 101 and 11 plates). The entire book, after a short introduction—the history of the investigation and a description of materials and methods—consists of measurements. At the end is a summary, showing that "physical measurements were taken on approximately 600 males and 450 females of the Maya race". There is also a short bibliographical list.

John G. Bradley has published a useful little guide to Mexico under the title *Into Old Mexico by Auto*, which he explains was "Written for American Auto Tourists and dedicated to Our Sister Republic, Mexico, whose history, legend, natural beauty and wonderful climate are worthy of our admiration". The text is written in an easy chatty manner and has considerable information. A chief feature of the pamphlet (it has 76 pages) are the maps showing routes and distances. It was printed by Gould and Lang, Inc., Chicago.

Interest in the Mayas and their civilization is constantly increasing. From Guatemala comes a valuable work on the Mayan Codices. This work by J. Antonio Villacorta C. and Carlos A. Villacorta is entitled *Codices Mayas: Dresdensis; Peresianus; Tro-Cortesianus* (pp. 450). These are reproduced and explained. The title page of this

volume is dated 1930, but the cover title bears date "1933", probably the real date of publication. The work, including the reproductions, appears to be well executed.

The National Library of the Philippines (formerly The Philippine Library) has published a number of interesting volumes, all of them under the direction of Teodoro M. Kalaw, director of the Library, and all printed at the Bureau of Printing in Manila. These include the following:

1. *Epistolario Rizalino* (1930, 1931), 2 vols., covering the periods respectively, 1877-1887 and 1887-1890. This is one of the most valuable works that has come from the Philippines. The letters are mostly to Rizal, but a few are his letters to members of his family and various friends. They are written mostly in Spanish, but some are in Tagalog and German. Most of the Tagalog letters and all the German letters have been translated into Spanish. It is a pity that all the former were not translated. These materials throw considerable light on Rizal's movements, show the appreciation in which he was held by his friends and add considerably to Craig's *Life of Rizal*. The volumes are well edited and well printed. They concern his school days in Manila, and his travels and residence in Spain, America, and Germany, and cover to the publication in 1890 of Rizal's famous novel *Noli me tangere* (*The Social Cancer*), showing something of the reverberation caused by its appearance.

2. *Gregorio H. del Pilar (El Heroe de Tirad)* by Teodoro M. Kalaw (Manila, 1930). This is a very interesting account of the part played by the youthful general in the campaign against Spain and later against the American forces. Del Pilar was a brave and enthusiastic youth and general regret was expressed by the Americans at his death.

3. *Ang Pinag tatulunang akta ñg Katipunan* (Manila, 1930), with a preface by Teodoro M. Kalaw. This book is entirely in Tagalog and relates to the records of the Filipino secret society known as the Katipunan. Many of the documents were signed by Andrés Bonifacio, the head of the society. They supply additional information to the Taylor compilation.

4. *La Revolución Filipina*. By Apolinario Mabini, with a biographical study of Mabini (called the brains of the revolution against the United States) by Rafael Palma (until recently president of

the University of the Philippines). (2 vols. (1931). This is an interesting compilation covering the period 1898-1901. Mabini's treatise on the revolution proper occupies the latter part of the second volume. The rest is a compilation of articles by Mabini, "the divine paralytic", and other materials.

5. *Cartas sobre la Revolución* (1932). By Mariano Ponce, with a preface by Mr. Kalaw. The 244 letters are dated between May 6, 1897, and March 5, 1900. A number are to Sun Yat Sen and a few to various Japanese. This is a contribution to the history of the Far East.

6. *A Letter to the Young Women of Malolos*. By José Rizal (1932). This is printed in Tagalog, Spanish, and English. The letter was written in February, 1889, at the request of Marcelo H. del Pilar, one of the earliest and consistent revolutionists against Spain. In his preface Mr. Kalaw says: "It must be remembered that when it was planned to found in Malolos a private school for the teaching of Spanish, the religious authorities objected strenuously, which gave rise to the protest on the part of the young women of Malolos." This is an interesting letter. The English version was first published in *The Philippine Review* for January, 1917 (pp. 25-29).

All the volumes reflect great credit on Mr. Kalaw and on the National Library.

Mario Belgrano is the author of two books which have lately appeared, namely, *La Francia y la Monarquía en el Plata (1818-1820)* (Buenos Aires, 1933), and *Rivadavia y sus Gestiones diplomáticas con España (1815-1820)* (Buenos Aires, 1933). These will be reviewed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

The well known Mexican scholar, Enrique Juan Palacios, is the author of *El Calendario y los Jeroglíficos Cronográficos Mayas* (Mexico, Editorial "Cultura", 1933). The volume (pp. 183, [4 leaves]) has drawings by Luis Orellana. This work is a reprint of the centenary volume of the Mexican Society of Geography and History and the page numbers of the index as given here correspond to those of that centenary volume. The book is divided into two parts, namely, "Parte Teórica" and "Parte Práctica". The nine chapters of the first part are as follows: Materiales de estudio; Fechas Mayas; Su

Mecanismo; El Año.—Sus “portadores” o días iniciales. Grupos de años; Posiciones de los Días en el año; Aritmética maya; Características de los glifos numerales; Glifos de período; Los cuatro tipos de fechas o expresiones cronológicas mayas; and Rasgos y particularidades materiales de las inscripciones. Advertencias para el ensayo de descifración. The six chapters of the second part are as follows: Series iniciales y fechas de Rueda de Calendario; Series secundarias; Finales de período y Sinopsis de historia maya según los monumentos; Series suplementarias; Correlación calendárica; and Secuela de la investigación. There is also a bibliography.

The Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas has just published (1934) as its No. LXIII a pamphlet entitled *El Problema de la Liga Beocia en el Papiro de Oxyryncho 842*. This is a study of the seminar of classical and medieval history directed by Professor Clemente Ricci.

The Maya Society Quarterly, which was founded by the Maya Society at Johns Hopkins University “to stimulate research into the languages, history and culture of the Maya” contains among other things, the following: “The Thirteen Ahaus in the Kaua Manuscript and related Katum wheels in the Paris Codex, Landa, Cogulludo and the Chumayel”, by William Gates; “Ancient history of Yucatan”, translated by Ethel-Jane Bunting; “Alphabet of the Maya Language”; “Table for verifying Maya Dates”; “A Lanquin Kekchi calendar”; “Glyph Studies”; Ixcit Cheel”, from the Maya by J. H. Cornyn; “Calendar and nagualism of the Tzeltais”, translated by Alan Watters Payne; “A Kekchi will of 1583”, by Erwin W. Dieseldoff; “Natabal nu-tinamit (The memory of my Village)” (in Quiche and English translations); “Ixtlavacan Quiche calendar of 1854”, translated by Ethel-Jane W. Bunting; “Pokonchi calendar”; “Eras of the thirteen gods and the nine gods”, by William Gates; “The Mayance nations”, by William Gates; “X’tabay (the enchantress)” by John Hubert Cornyn (in the original and English translation); “From Cahabon to Bacalar in 1677”, translated by Ethel-Jane W. Bunting; “The humming bird and the flower”, by J. Eric Thompson; “The testing of the princes”, by William Gates; “An Aztec master musician”, by John Hubert Cornyn. The review has a pleasing format and is printed on extra good paper.

The American Historical Review for April, 1934, has an illuminating article by Professor Arthur Preston Whitaker on "The Retrocession of Louisiana in Spanish Policy".

A supplement to the April, 1934, issue of the *American Historical Review* consists of a List of *Research Projects exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations now in Progress in the United States and the Dominion of Canada*. Of special interest are Nos. 787-807, which treat of Hispanic America. The section "Texas and the Far West" (p. 43), contains materials relating to Hispanic America, and occasional items in other sections deal with the same region.

In the December, 1933, issue of *The Pacific Historical Review* Professor J. B. Lockey, of the University of California at Los Angeles, has an article entitled "An early Pan-American Scheme". This was the plan by William Shaler, a special agent of the United States in Mexico and consul general in Cuba. Although the division of territory, as suggested by Shaler, was untenable, at least in part, he was a far-seeing man. Professor Lockey's introduction to the document by Shaler adds to its value.

The Revista do Instituto Archaeologico Histórico e Geographico Pernambucano, edited by Drs. Mario Melo, Samuel Campêlo, and Carlos Pereira de Costa in its vol. XXXI (Nos. 147-150) for 1931 (published in 1933) has the following items of interest: "Frei Caneca", by Mario Melo; "Marinheiros de Outrora", by Velho Sobrinho; "A Igreja de São Gonçalo de Jurissaca", by Naasson Figueiredo; "O Escudo do Municipio do Recife"; "Genealogia pernambucana", by José Theóphilo; "A Evolução pernambucana"; "A Fortaleza 'Príncipe Guilherme' ou dos Afogados", by Naasson Figueiredo; "Aspectos da Reação civica de 1911", by Raul Azêdo; "Viagem ao Brasil", by H. Koster; "Os Pelourinhos do Recife", by Mario Melo; "Um Aspecto da Monarchia", by Luis Delgado; "Uma nobre figura pernambucana", by Raymundo Paez Barrêto; "Desembargador Martins Pereira, o primeiro magistrado emancipadôr", by Luis André-Costa; "Excavações históricas", by M. Braga Ribeiro; "Quadros brasileiros de Aeckhout", by Argeu Guimarães; "Catálogo da Colleção de Medalhas do Instituto, Serie brasileira", by Afrêdo Couceiro; "Bernardo Vieira de Mello", by Basilio de Magalhães.

The December (1933) issue of *Boletín de la Academia Panameña de la Historia* contains the third and last part of "La Personalidad Internacional de Panamá", by Publio A. Vasques Hernández. This is a thesis presented for the consideration of the faculty of law of Madrid. This third part is designated as "Fundamento Jurídico" and is divided into seven parts, namely: La Personalidad internacional y la personalidad del Estado Panameño; Origen de los Estados y el origen del Estado Panameño; Los Estados de Soberanía restringida y las Restricciones del Estado Panameño; La Comunidad internacional y la República de Panamá; El Régimen jurídico de los Canales y el Canal de Panamá; Validez de los Tratados internacionales y el Tratado Hay-Bunau Varela; and Conclusiones sobre la Fisonomía internacional de Panamá. This is a well considered study.

The Catholic Historical Review for January, 1934, publishes an article entitled "The Pious Fund of the Californias", by William E. McDonald. The article is well annotated.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba in its Bulletin (1933) publishes Vol. VI of "Actas de las Asambleas de Representantes y del Consejo del Gobierno durante la Guerra de Independencia (1898-1899)". This was compiled by Joaquín Llaverías and Emeterio S. Santovenia. The various documents will prove useful to the student.

Banks, Upshaw and Company of Dallas, Texas, have recently published two "Spanish Gadgets" for the study of the irregular Spanish verb. Both of these ingenious aids were compiled by Mary V. Beard. Each consists of two cardboard disks united in the center and turning freely. On the lower are printed the verb forms and apertures in the upper disk correspond to these verb forms. They are well contrived to meet the purpose for which they were made. Mimeographed suggestions showing how they may be used accompany the "Gadgets".

The Pan American Railways System has issued a calendar for the year ending June, 1934, under the appropriate title "Wings for trade". This consists of a map of the southern part of the United States, Mexico, Central America, the Antilles, and South America. Various cities of this region are numbered from 1-99, respectively. A movable disk underneath the map bears these numbers, and as

the disk is turned shows the numbers through an aperture. Other apertures give various kinds of information relative to mail and express by plane. For instance, No. 1 corresponds to the city of Havana. For that city, we learn that planes depart daily from Miami. Time of transit is two hours, the plane being due on the day of departure. Mail is carried at ten cents per one-half ounce; and express from Miami is twenty cents per pound and from Brownsville, seventy-four cents. No. 99 corresponds to Obregón, Mexico, for which planes depart on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday from Brownsville, reaching their destination in $2\frac{1}{2}$ days, namely, on Tuesday, Friday, and Sunday of each week. Mail is carried at ten cents per one-half ounce, and express at sixty-six cents from El Paso and ninety-two cents from Brownsville per pound.

The Boletín de la Unión Panamericana for April, 1934, publishes the address delivered at the Pan American Union Building in Washington, by Dr. Enrique Pinot, minister for Bolivia, on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of the eminent Bolivian bibliographer and man of letters, Sr. Gabriel René-Moreno. The address is entitled "Elogio de Gabriel René-Moreno en el Primer Centenario de su Nacimiento". Dr. Pinot is a scholar in his own right and his address not only bristled with information, but was expressed in limpid, forcible, and elegant Spanish. A translation into English, made by Miss Beatrice Newhall, assistant editor of the *Bulletin*, was published in the *English Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, also for April. The address was given at a meeting held under the auspices of the Interamerican Bibliographical Association and the Washington branch of the Instituto de las Españas. The Spanish number of the *Boletín* contains also "Breve Bibliografía de Rene-Moreno", by Ismael Sotomayor.

Recent issues of the *Boletín de Investigaciones Históricas* of Buenos Aires, contains the following materials: Nos. 49-50, July-December, 1931: Original articles—"La Isla de Martín García y las Pretensiones de Antonio José del Texo", by Eugenio Corbet France; "El hospital colonial de Jujuy en los Siglos XVII y XVIII", by M. A. Vergara; "Un Proyecto del Gobernador Bucareli para embellecer a Buenos Aires", by Antonino Salvadores; "Relación de la vinta hecha a la Intendencia de Salta del Tucuman . . . 1791 y 1792", by José Torre

Revello. Documental Relations—"Apuntaciones sobre el Rastreador", by P. Grenon, S. J.; "Una falsa amenaza de invasión inglesa en 1740", by R. R. Caillet-Bois; "Un informe referente a los planes de Artigas con respecto al Paraguay a fines de 1812", by *id.*, "Informe sobre misiones de Indios . . . en . . . Paraguay", by José Torre Revello; No. 51-52, January-June, 1932: Original articles—"Alemania ante la independencia sudamericana entre los años 1810-1825", by Iso Brante Schweide; "Prohibiciones y licencias para imprimir libros referentes a América, 1810-1825", by José Torre Revello; "Litigios de antaño", by Raúl de Labrugle; "La Crónica de las Exequias de Carlos V en la Ciudad de los Reyes, año 1559", by José Torres Revello. Documental relations—"Un conflicto entre el Gobernador y el Obispo . . . en 1622", by José Torre Revello; "Riesgo de un flete en el año 1790", by P. Grenon, S. J.; "La Vinculación económica entre las provincias de Cayo, en 1835", by R. R. Caillet-Bois; "Documentos relativos al Obispo Oro", by Fray Reginaldo Saldaña Retamar, S. O. P. No. 53, July-September, 1932: Original articles—"Don Bernardo de Vera y Pintado", by Domingo Amunátegui Solar; "Origen y aplicación del Código Negrero en la América Española (1788-1794)", by José Torre Revello; "Echevarria en relación con las tendencias unitarias y federales", by Avelina M. Ibáñez; "Establecimientos jesuiticos en Corrientes y Entre Ríos", by Carlos Leonhardt, S. J.; "Cartografía colonial del Virreinato del Río de la Plata", by Fernando Márquez Miranda; "Historia del Derecho penal de América Latina (conclusión)", by Ladislao Thot; "Aclaraciones sobre la vida y muerte de Rosas en el destierro", by E[milio] R[avignani]. Documental relations—"La misión de Antonini en 1808", by R. R. Caillet-Bois. No. 54, October-December, 1932: Original articles—"Libros procedentes de expurgos en poder de la inquisición de Lima en 1813", by José Torre Revello; "Jujuy eclesiástico en el siglo XVII, datos históricos", by M. A. Vergara; "La política de no intervención de Canning en la América Española", by Charles R. Salit; "Juan de Garay, natural de Gordijuch", by Fernando del Valle Lersundi; "La Crítica religiosa como elemento de cultura, textos y polémicos", by Clemente Ricci. Documental relations—"La expedición de Rubin de Celis en busca de Lima en 1813", by R. R. Caillet-Bois; "El volumen del comerciô del Río de la Plata, a comienzos del Virreinato (1779-1781)", by Emilio Ravignani. In

all issues there are continued the sections of General or special inventories, Bibliographical notices, General information, and Inventory of published documents. A portrait of some eminent historian appears in each number.

La Universidad de Mexico for May, 1932 (tomo IV, No. 19), has articles as follows: "Dejemos a Mr. Poinsett", by Luis Chavez Orozco; "Capítulos de Historia Franciscana", III, by Fernando Ocaranza; "Numismática Mexicana; el peso de Victoria", by Manuel Romero de Terreros. That for June, 1932, has: "La tumba 7 de Monte Alban es Mixteca", by Alfonso Caso; "El poeta Manuel José Othon", by Concha Meléndez; "José Martí", by Andrés Iduarte; "La Vida artística de México", by Francisco Monterde; "Capítulos de historia Franciscana", IV, by Fernando Ocaranza; "Investigación social obrera", by Guillermo Quintanar; "La escuela permanente para extranjeros", by Julio Jiménez Rueda.

The *Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, for April, 1933 (vol XIII), consists of a monograph of 602 pages, entitled *Ancient Aztlan*, by S. A. Barrett. This is a site in Wisconsin, which revived its name, according to Dr. Lapham,

because, according to Humboldt, the Aztecs or ancient inhabitants of Mexico had a tradition that their ancestors came from a country at the north, which they called Aztlan; and the possibility that these may have been the remains of their occupaney, suggested the idea of restoring the name. It is made up of two Mexican words, *atl*, water, and *an*, near; and the country was probably so named from its proximity to large bodies of water. Hence the natural inference that the country about these great lakes was the ancient residence of the Aztecs.

This assumption is interesting because it probably led to this systematic study.